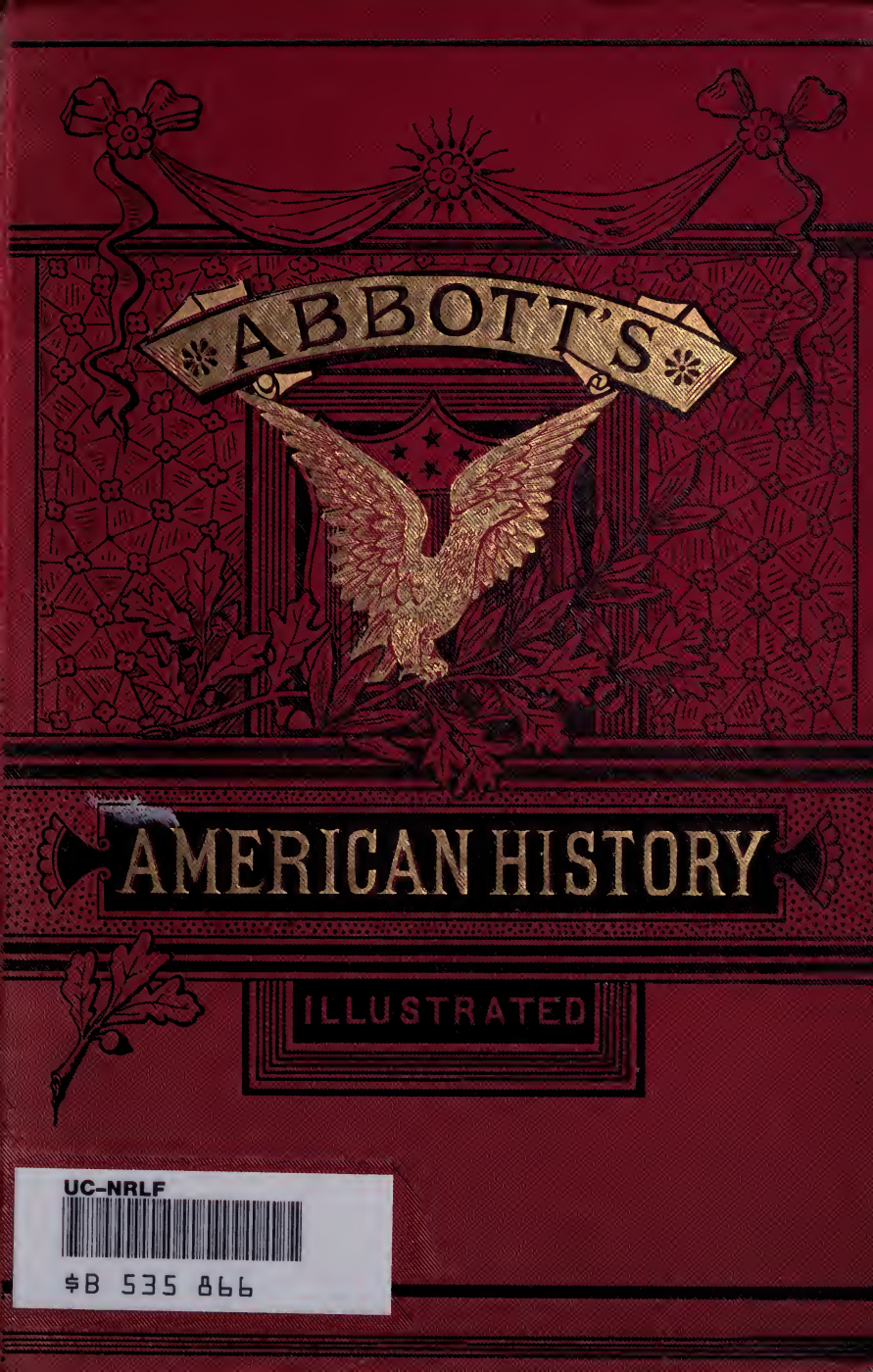

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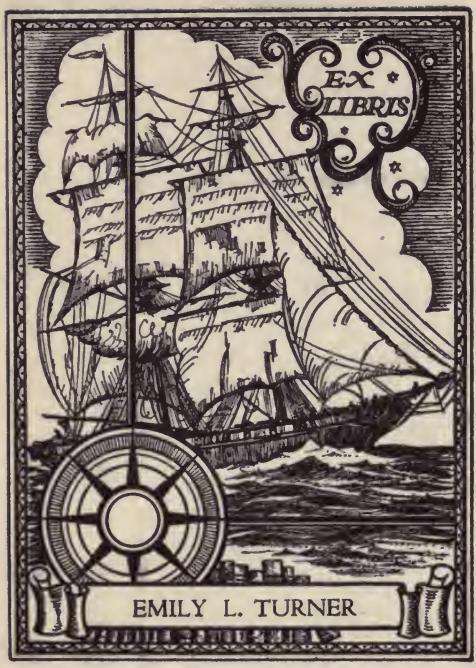
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"PREPARATION FOR WAR."

AMERICAN HISTORY

by

Jacob Abbott.

ILLUSTRATED
WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

Vol. VII.
WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

New York:
Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.
13 Astor Place.

ABBOTT'S AMERICAN HISTORIES.

I.—*ABORIGINAL AMERICA.*

II.—*DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.*

III.—*THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.*

IV.—*THE NORTHERN COLONIES.*

V.—*WARS OF THE COLONIES.*

VI.—*REVOLT OF THE COLONIES.*

VII.—*WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.*

VIII.—*WASHINGTON.*

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PREFACE.

It is the design of this work to narrate, in a clear, simple, and intelligible manner, the leading events connected with the history of our country, from the earliest periods, down, as nearly as practicable, to the present time. The several volumes will be illustrated with all necessary maps and with numerous engravings, and the work is intended to comprise, in a distinct and connected narrative, all that it is essential for the general reader to understand in respect to the subject of it, while for those who have time for more extended studies, it may serve as an introduction to other and more copious sources of information.

The author hopes also that the work may be found useful to the young, in awakening in their minds an interest in the history of their country

and a desire for further instruction in respect to it While it is doubtless true that such a subject can be really grasped only by minds in some degree mature, still the author believes that many young persons, especially such as are intelligent and thoughtful in disposition and character, may derive both entertainment and instruction from a perusal of these pages.

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WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

THE war of the American Revolution was conducted, on the part of the colonies, by a body of men formed of delegates from each of the different provinces, and called the Continental Congress.

The provinces of Virginia and Massachusetts took the lead in the formation of this congress, though they were not the first to propose it. It is said that the first public proposal that the colonies should form some union, so as to enable them to act together in the general contest with the mother country, was made about the middle of May, 1774, at a town meeting in Rhode Island. Four days afterward a committee of a town meeting in Philadelphia made the same recommendation, and similar action was taken, in May and June, by various towns in nearly all the other provinces.

Thus the general government of the United States, which has since risen to so high a position of greatness and power, had its origin in town meetings. It was from these little rootlets that the mighty tree originally sprung, as it is by them, or by the democratic principles of self-government and equal rights which grow and thrive in these small and scattered organizations, that it is still nourished and sustained.

It was, however, by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Virginia that the first steps were taken toward carrying the proposal into effect, though the legislatures of all the other colonies very readily concurred in the measure. The place in which the meetings were held was Philadelphia; and the first meeting took place September 5th, 1774, some months before the actual commencement of the war.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF FORMING ANY UNION OF THE COLONIES.

Previous to about the year 1773, the several colonies were entirely separate and distinct, it being the evident policy of the government to bind them individually as closely as possible to the mother country, and to keep them, at the same time, entirely disconnected from one another, so as to prevent anything like concert of action among them in case of

any disagreement or difficulty between them and the government at home.

The colonies submitted without objection to this policy so long as no difficulty occurred, but when the question of the taxation of the American people through the action of parliament, which was composed wholly of representatives of the English people at home, instead of through that of the colonial legislatures, which were composed of their own representatives, began to come under discussion, it was found at once that all the colonies had a common cause against the mother country, and a disposition to form some sort of union which would enable them to act in concert, began at once to appear.

It was very difficult, however, to carry any plan of union into effect, for the governors of the colonies were appointed by the ministry, and according to the charters or other fundamental laws of the several provinces, the governor, though he could not take any part, directly, in the proceedings of the assemblies, could nevertheless so far control the times and places of their meetings, that it was almost impossible for them to transact any business in them which he disapproved.

If they brought forward and began to discuss any subject or plan which he objected to, he had

only to send in immediately a special messenger and dissolve the assembly,—when all their power to act legally, as a legislative body, was at an end.

LIABILITY TO A CHARGE OF TREASON.

Besides these difficulties in the way of effecting any regular and legal action by the constituted authorities of any colony for forming a combination with the others, the people knew that the persons who should attempt any action of this kind might subject themselves to a charge of conspiracy or treason,—on the ground that they were attempting to organize a lawless confederation, for the purpose of resisting the government. A few years, or rather a few months, after this time, when the war was on the eve of breaking out, the leaders of the resistance paid very little regard to any considerations of this kind. They had by that time gone so far that they considered it of little moment whether the government should charge them with treason or not. But at the commencement of the troubles they were more cautious, as it was very proper that they should be. They hoped to induce the mother country to abandon its claim to tax them by votes of parliament, without an open rupture, and they were accordingly very desirous to confine their resistance and opposition, for a time at least.

to such measures as should be strictly and indisputably legal.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE.

In accordance with this view, the plan which they first adopted was the appointment of what were called Committees of Correspondence. However illegal it might be to attempt to institute any combined action among the colonies, there certainly could not be anything treasonable, they reasoned, in writing letters for the purpose of communicating or gaining information, or in appointing committees to write them. Virginia took the lead in this measure, and the other colonies immediately followed. The governors did all they could to prevent even this action, and in some cases dissolved the assemblies in time to prevent the proposed committees from being chosen by them. But in such cases the people themselves held meetings and appointed the committees, and in this manner in the course of a few months there was a regular and semi-official channel of intercommunication among all the colonies, through which the state of public sentiment and the progress of events in each was made known promptly and fully to all the rest. This system, while it continued, had a very powerful influence in promoting a common understanding

among all the colonies, and in preparing the way for the more intimate union which followed.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

At length, when, in consequence of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, the British government, in order to punish the people for the insubordinate spirit which they had manifested by that act, closed the port, thus destroying the business of the town, and reducing the great mass of the people to poverty and distress at a blow, the indignation of the people in all the provinces was so aroused, that they everywhere began to be prepared to adopt bolder measures. The legislature of Virginia passed resolutions declaring that the cause of Massachusetts was the cause of all the colonies, and that in order to enable them to maintain their cause in a decisive manner, some more effectual plan for uniting their councils than had yet been adopted, was required.

Encouraged by this open stand taken by Virginia, and also by the manifestations of public sentiment in nearly all the other provinces, given by the action of the various town meetings already referred to, the Massachusetts assembly at once voted to recommend to all the provinces to appoint delegates to a continental congress, to be convened

at Philadelphia, the most central point. This was on the 5th of June, 1774, and in order to allow time for the full consideration of this proposal, for the appointment of delegates by all the colonies, they proposed that the time for the meeting of the congress should be in three months from that date, namely, the 5th of September.

The governors both of Virginia and of Massachusetts were very earnest in their efforts to prevent this action, and did their utmost to arrest it, but they did not succeed. The legislatures, partly by rapid action, and partly by a little artifice, contrived to defeat their efforts, and to accomplish the work.

PROFESSED OBJECT OF THE PROPOSED CONGRESS.

In the resolution passed by Massachusetts recommending the congress—the purpose of convening such an assembly was stated to be "For concerting proper measures for the recovery and establishment of the just rights and liberties of the Americans, and for the restoration of that union and harmony between Great Britain and America, most ardently desired by all good men."

This language was used in part, no doubt, to defend the formation of the proposed congress from the charge of being a treasonable measure. There

certainly could be nothing treasonable, it would seem, in a meeting of gentlemen from different provinces, for the purpose of consulting on the best means of restoring union and harmony between the provinces and the mother country.

There is no doubt, too, that this language, in respect to a large portion of those who adopted it, was sincere. The plan of separating altogether from the mother country, and establishing a distinct and separate commonwealth in America, was yet entertained by comparatively few.

APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS BY THE OTHER PROVINCES.

Nearly all the provinces fell in at once with the Massachusetts plan of appointing delegates. The governors everywhere did their utmost to prevent this, but they were unable to succeed. In some cases they prevented the legislatures from acting, but then the people themselves, in a more informal manner, made the appointments, and in due tim the assembly was convened.

PLACE OF MEETING OF THE FIRST CONGRESS.

The place decided upon for the first meeting of the congress, was a hall in Philadelphia, known as Carpenter's Hall. It was a plain building, with

one large room below, and several smaller ones in the story above. These last were used by the congress for committee rooms and for other similar purposes.

FIRST MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

The number of members that had been appointed by the different provinces was fifty-four. They were all men of great prominence and note in their several provinces, and well known to each other by name and reputation; and many of them had been in habits of correspondence with each other in respect to public affairs, having served on the committees of correspondence, which it had been the custom in almost all the colonies for some years to appoint, in order that the leading men throughout the country might be in communication with each other, and come to something like a common understanding. Thus these men knew each other well by name and reputation, and they felt for each other moreover the acquaintance and the friendship which a long-continued and confidential correspondence produces. Personally, however, they were nearly all utter strangers.

It was a meeting of fifty or sixty intimate and confidential friends, who did not know each other by sight.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS.

Many of them, of course, soon found each other out, and after many mutual introductions and preliminary consultations, the assembly was convened.

Peyton Randolph, one of the most distinguished citizens of Virginia, a lawyer of great talent and influence, and of much weight and dignity of character, was appointed president. He was over fifty years of age.

Charles Thomson of Philadelphia was elected secretary. He continued to be the secretary of successive congresses for fifteen years.

As soon as these officers had been chosen, the members severally presented their credentials, that is, their certificates of election from the several provinces which they represented. These credentials having been examined, and the members admitted to their seats, and their names entered on the roll, the congress was declared fully organized and ready to proceed to the business for which they had been called together.

CLOSED DOORS.

The meetings of congress were all held with closed doors, and no publication in respect to the discussions which took place, or the course which

was pursued in the transaction of business was allowed. This was an eminently wise arrangement, for it was known that there was great difference of opinion among the members in respect to the course which ought to be pursued; and they were moreover all on the brink of what they knew the British government would consider as treason. It was much more safe for themselves, therefore, personally, that what they should choose to say among each other, should not be known; and it was also much better for the country, that the people should not be agitated and excited by any differences of opinion and consequent discussions, which might arise within the body. When they should have concluded their deliberations, and decided upon the measures which they would pursue, they would then communicate to the country and to the world the results that they had arrived at, while in the meantime they considered it more prudent to keep to themselves the steps by which the results were attained.

What really took place, therefore, at the meeting of the congress, became known consequently to posterity chiefly through communications made in private letters and conversations long afterward, when there was no longer any necessity for reserve.

SOLEMNITY OF THE SCENE AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION

It is not at all surprising that, when the president and secretary had been elected, the credentials examined, and the body was thus organized and ready to proceed to business, the members regarded the occasion with feelings of solemn awe. They knew very well, that by the step that they were taking, they were not only endangering their own lives by subjecting themselves to the pains and penalties of treason, but that the immediate question of peace or war for the whole land, and the future interests of the country for ages to come, were in their hands. They seemed to feel this, and instead of being, as is usual in the constitution of new political bodies, all eager to speak, they were all silent. A solemn pause ensued, which, for a long time, was not broken.

PATRICK HENRY.

The person that rose at last to address the assembly, was Patrick Henry.

Patrick Henry was a Virginian—a man of great eloquence, and renowned throughout the country for the very able and powerful speeches which he had made in the Virginia House of Burgesses, as the legislative assembly of that province was called

These speeches had been read all over the land, and the name of Patrick Henry was everywhere known. But still, among the members of the congress, scarcely any one personally knew the man.

He was a very grave-looking personage, and his countenance wore an earnest and thoughtful expression; but his appearance was plain and unpretending, and he was without any of those indications of dress in the way of colored cloths, ruffles, and powdered wigs, with which men of wealth or of high position were accustomed to adorn themselves in those days. Indeed, some of the delegates expressed a feeling of mortification that so insignificant a man should be the first to address so august an assembly on such an occasion.

The moment that he began to speak, however, opinions were suddenly changed. There was a charm in the tones of his voice, and an impressive eloquence in his modes of expression, that at once aroused universal attention.

"Who is it?" "Who is it?" asked the members of each other, in whispers—inquiring in vain on each side of them, and before and behind.

At length, however, the response "Patrick Henry!" "Patrick Henry!" began to circulate along the seats; and then very soon every member assumed an attitude of profound attention.

The speech was a very able and earnest vindication of the indefeasible right of the people of the colonies to the control which they claimed over their own internal policy, and an urgent call upon congress to organize a firm, united, and vigorous resistance to the encroachments of the British crown. It produced a very profound sensation.

PRINCIPLE OF REPRESENTATION ADOPTED.

The actual business of the congress was not fully entered upon until the third day. The first day was occupied in the preliminary proceedings above referred to, and the second was devoted to drawing up and adopting rules for regulating the proceedings. The most important of these rules was the one determining the manner in which the voting power should be apportioned among the members. The different provinces varied very much in wealth and population, and the number of delegates, too, which had been sent, differed greatly, while these two variations did not correspond at all with each other. If the comparative population of the sev eral provinces could have been ascertained, it would seem to have been just to allow each one a number of votes proportioned to the number of the people. But there were no means of determining this question, and so it was finally decided to allow to each

province one vote on all questions to be passed upon. What this vote should be in each delegation was of course determined by the majority of the delegation itself at a preliminary ballotting among themselves.

QUESTION OF OPENING THE SESSION WITH PRAYER.

The congress became finally ready to proceed to the transaction of business on the third day; and it had been proposed on the preceding evening, that before actually commencing the momentous work before them, they should unitedly and publicly implore the blessing of God upon their counsels; and that, accordingly, some clergyman should be invited to open the session with prayer. This proposal was objected to by some of the members, on the ground that there was so great a diversity of religious sentiment in the congress, and so many religious persuasions represented among the members—Episcopalians, Quakers, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians—that they could not all join in an act of worship in any one form.

To this the venerable Samuel Adams from Boston replied, that he for one could join in a prayer from any clergyman of piety and virtue, who was a friend of his country, whatever his religious persuasion might be. And he immediately made a

motion, that Mr. Duché,* who was a prominent Episcopal minister of Philadelphia, might be desired to read prayers before congress on the following morning.

When the members thus heard a venerable delegate from Massachusetts—representing a people whose ancestors, as they believed, had been driven from England by the intolerance of the Episcopal Church, and who still felt a special repugnance against everything like prelacy in church government, and to all written forms in religious worship, —propose an Episcopal minister for this duty, no one seemed disposed to make any further objection, and the motion was carried. The president, Mr. Randolph, waited upon Mr. Duché, and the arrangement was made.

THE FIRST PRAYER IN CONGRESS.

The next morning Mr. Duché appeared at the appointed time, dressed in his canonicals, and accompanied by his clerk, according to the usages of his church, as it was very proper that he should be. He would not do the members the injustice to suppose, that in inviting him—an Episcopal minister—to conduct their devotions, they expected him to

* Pronounced Dushay.

leave his clerical office, or anything essentially pertaining to it, according to the rules and usages of his communion, behind him.

Mr. Duché read the prayers proper to the occasion, and the portion of the Psalter pertaining to the day, which was the 7th of September. The portion read was the thirty-fifth Psalm.

After having done this, the minister, unexpectedly to every one, commenced an extemporaneous prayer, adapted more closely to the circumstances of the occasion. He prayed for congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially for the town of Boston, with such fervor and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, that it deeply impressed every one present, and produced a very profound sensation.

The solemn excitement which was occasioned by this prayer, especially the portion which related to Boston, was greatly increased by certain intelligence relating to the progress of events in that town, which had arrived the day before, and had renewed afresh the deep interest which was every where felt in what was there transpiring.

During the prayer it was observed that one only of the members kneeled. That one was George Washington. He was one of the members from Virginia.

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AMONG THE MEMBERS IN RESPECT TO THE COURSE TO BE PURSUED.

Although no regular account of the discussions and debates which took place in this first congress has been preserved, it is well known that there was great difference of opinion among the members in respect to the course which it was best that the country should pursue.

The younger and more ardent men were in favor of very decisive action. They wished to bid open defiance at once to the power of Great Britain, to declare the provinces separated finally and forever from the mother country, and to establish an independent government. This would, of course, lead to a terrible and probably to a long-protracted war with the most formidable military and naval power on earth—but they were ready for such a war.

The older and more prudent men were not prepared to take this step. Some of them thought that separation must be in the end the result of the quarrel, and they ardently wished that it might be so—but they did not think that the time had yet come for them to proclaim it. They did not know whether the country was prepared for such a step; and then, moreover, they thought that by making one more last effort to induce the British government to relinquish their claims to absolute domina-

tion in America, they should place themselves and the justice of their cause in a better position before the world, and make their final success more sure.

Others, it seems, were opposed to any policy whatever that looked toward a separation from Britain, or even to doing anything which should tend to bring on war. One of the speakers who entertained these views, undertook to show how entirely exposed the country was to the overwhelming power of England.

"All our largest and most important towns," said he, "are situated along the Atlantic sea-board, on rivers or harbors entirely open to English ships of war, by which they can all be easily and totally destroyed."

To which another speaker replied that those towns were all built of wood, of bricks, and of other more or less perishable materials, which, when once destroyed, could be easily replaced by an industrious and energetic people. The country, he said, was full of beds of clay and of growing timber, from which new cities could easily be built. But, if their rights and liberties, he added, were once surrendered to foreign control, and the people reduced into subjection to a foreign power, the loss and injury could never be repaired.

FINAL DECISION OF THE CONGRESS.

The result of the deliberations of the congress was in favor, for the time being, of very moderate measures. Their action was confined, almost exclusively, to the issuing of a number of addresses to various classes of persons and public bodies, the main object of which was to lay the case of the American people fully and fairly before the world, in its true and proper light. The principal of these communications were the following:

1. A general declaration of rights in behalf of the American people, specifying precisely what they claimed as the inherent and indefeasible rights of all subjects of the British empire.

2. A memorial to the king of England, setting forth the grounds of complaint which the people of his colonies in America had against his majesty's government, and asking for redress.

3. An appeal to the parliament and to the people of England, calling upon them to sympathize and take part with their fellow subjects in America, in withstanding the encroachments of power and maintaining unimpaired the liberties, rights, and privileges secured by the ancient laws and usages of the realm to every British subject, and which all had a joint and common interest in defending.

4. An address to the people of America, calling

upon them to be united and firm in defence of their rights; and, while avoiding all rash, or hasty, or intemperate measures, to be firm and immovable in their determination never to yield to any attempt to deprive them of the political rights and privileges which they and their forefathers had always enjoyed, and which were secured not only by the British constitution to all the subjects of the British empire, but by the laws of God and of nature, to every human being.

5. And finally a series of addresses to the people of the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, that were settled, in a great measure, by the French, urging them to join the English colonies in their efforts to secure rights common to all. These last addresses failed to produce any decisive effect. The native populations of those provinces were French by nationality and Catholic in faith; and they had little fellow-feeling with the spirit of liberty and independence which prevailed in the colonies of English origin. The small proportion of English people that these northern colonies contained, consisted to a great extent of men men in office, and of persons more or less connected with and dependent upon them, and they were very naturally inclined to take sides with the government in the contest that was arising

AN APPEAL TO ARMS CONDITIONALLY RECOMMENDED.

During the time that congress had been in session, things had been drawing rapidly toward a crisis in Massachusetts. General Gage, the commander of the British military forces in America, had been appointed governor of the province. He had assembled a considerable number of troops in Boston, had thrown up intrenchments across the neck which connected the peninsula with the main land, and which afforded the only mode of access to the town in those days, as there were then no bridges. He had begun also to take measures for seizing and securing such depots of arms and munitions of war as the colony possessed. The whole country was looking with great interest to the course which events were taking in Boston; and a regular express was established between Boston and Philadelphia during the session of congress, to carry the intelligence of what transpired as regularly and as rapidly as possible to and fro.

The immediate cause of all this special excitement in Boston was that that town, and the whole province, in fact, had given great offence to parliament and to the English government, by destroying the tea of the East India Company in Boston har-

bor, rather than pay any taxes upon it not assessed by their own legislature, and by other similar acts of insubordination; and parliament had accordingly passed acts for shutting up the port of Boston entirely, so as to destroy the business of the town, and also for entirely remodelling the government of the province, so as to deprive the people of a large part of the limited share in the government which they had previously enjoyed.

Under this state of things, congress, toward the close of the session, passed a resolution, approving of the resistance made by the people of Massachusetts to the late acts of parliament, and declaring that if General Gage should attempt to carry those acts into effect by force, all America ought to unite in supporting Massachusetts in her opposition.

DISSOLUTION OF CONGRESS.

Having adopted these several measures, and some others which it is not necessary to particularize here, congress prepared to bring the session to a close. Before doing so, however, a vote was passed recommending to the several provinces to make arrangements for a new congress, and naming the 10th of May, of the ensuing year, as the proper time for it to be convened, unless the grievances of the American people should before that time be re-

dressed, in which case it might not be necessary that it should be convened at all.

And inasmuch as circumstances might occur making it desirable that a new congress should be assembled before that time, they recommended that the several provinces should proceed to elect the new members without delay, so that the assembly might be convened at any time when the emergency should occur requiring it.

The first congress having thus prepared the way for the calling, in due time, of a second, voted its own dissolution; and the members, bidding each other farewell, with many mingled hopes and forebodings, proceeded to their several homes.

IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE ACTION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS.

The measures adopted by the first congress, so far as they aimed at a peaceable arrangement of the difficulties between the colonies and the mother country failed of success. Indeed the only effect of them was to hasten the preparations on both sides for a vigorous prosecution of hostilities. The address sent to the people of America exerted a powerful influence in uniting them together, and greatly strengthened their determination to resist the encroachments of the British government to the last extremity.

On the other hand the remonstrances and appeals addressed to the British government and people, failed altogether in inducing the ministry to alter their course, while still they awakened the sympathy and excited the admiration of many men in England of the highest rank and influence.

PARLIAMENT REFUSES TO RECEIVE THE MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO IT BY CONGRESS.

When the memorials addressed by the congress to the government and the people of England arrived in that country, a committee which had been appointed by congress for that purpose made application to parliament for a hearing. The celebrated Benjamin Franklin was the most prominent person on this committee. He and his colleagues tendered a petition to the house, stating that they were directed by the American Continental Congress to present a memorial from it, the contents of which it was in their power to illustrate by much important information, and asking to be heard at the bar of the house according to the established custom in Parliament in cases where a person not a member desires to address the house on any subject, and the house accord him permission to do so.

The house in this case refused to grant the petition to be heard, or to receive the memorial. The

excuse for the refusal was, that the complaints of the Americans were only fancied or pretended grievances, that they had no just ground of remonstrance whatever, and that the Continental Congress from which the memorial emanated was an entirely illegal, if not treasonable assembly

Thus the only immediate result produced by the deliberations and actions of the first American congress was to excite still higher the imperious resentment of the British government against the refractory colonists, and also to hasten the union and organization of the colonists themselves, for the purpose of resistance, and to fix and strengthen their determination to resist, at all hazards, and to the last extremity.

CHAPTER II.

EXPULSION OF THE BRITISH FROM BOSTON.

THE FALL AND WINTER OF 1775.

THE Continental congress closed its session about the end of October, and the autumn and winter passed away without any open collision, though the excitement throughout the country was very great, and was constantly increasing. The party disposed to take sides with the British government was strong enough in some of the provinces to embarrass the action of the people for a time, but as the gov ernment went on adopting more and more stringent measures against the colonies, which had the effect only to arouse the resentment of the Americans to a higher and higher pitch, and to unite them more and more closely in a determination to resist, it gradually became evident to all that the contest would soon result in open war.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

As related in the preceding volume of this series, the first actual conflict took place at Lexington, in

Massachusetts, in consequence of a detachment of troops having been sent out to Concord, a town a little way beyond Lexington, where the government of Massachusetts had commenced making a collection of military stores in anticipation of the war.*

The object of the expedition was only very partially successful, as but a portion of the stores were destroyed—the rest having been hastily carried away and concealed by the people – and the troops sent out were followed and harassed incessantly on their return to Boston, so that they lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, nearly three hundred men. The whole country was, moreover, aroused by the tidings of the conflict, and the most vigorous preparations were made everywhere for immediate war. In Connecticut, in New Hampshire, and in other neighboring provinces, bodies of men were armed and organized, and led at once toward Boston. The country people seized and put in order such arms as they could find, and those that were too old or too young to march to the scene of the conflict, aided in equipping and in fitting out the sons and the brothers who were to go. Many a farmer's fireside was transformed into an arsenal for the assembling and making ready of arms and munition

* See Map.

QUEBEC
R. CHAUDIERE
50
100
SCALE OF MILES.
MONTREAL
R. SOREL
ST. JOHNS
L. CHAMPLAIN
VERMONT
NEW HAMP
MAINE
R. KENNEBEC
GARDINER
CROWN PT
TICONDEROGA
CASTLETON
WHITEHALL
FORT ANNE
PORTLAND
FORT EDWARD
BENNINGTON
RIVER
NEWBURYPORT
ALBANY
SALEM
CONCORD
MARBLEHEAD
LEXINGTON
BOSTON
CONNECTICUT
MASS.
CAPE COD
PROVIDENCE
HARTFORD
P. GASPEE
NEW HAVEN
NEWPORT
WEST PT.
NEW YORK
LONG ISD.
NEW YORK
OPENING SCENES OF THE REVOLUTION.

of war. All were engaged at once in warlike preparations: rolling bandages, repairing clothes and accoutrements and casting bullets for the guns.*

BOSTON BESIEGED.

The young and middle-aged men enrolled themselves rapidly as volunteers, under officers who were chosen by the men themselves, or who had previously been appointed by the provincial assemblies, and as fast as they were organized they set off in detachments for the environs of Boston.

In Connecticut, General Putnam, a man who had acquired great distinction by his indomitable bravery in former wars, but was now living quietly on his farm, heard the news while ploughing in his field. It is said he left his plough in the furrow, mounted one of the horses of his team in his working dress, took his sword at the door of his house, and placing himself at the head of a body of volunteers raised in his neighborhood, set off at once for the scene of action.

This spirit prevailed to such an extent that in three days the British troops, who had in the mean time shut themselves up in Boston, were hemmed in there by an army of twenty or thirty thousand men.

* See Frontispiece.

GRADUAL ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

This force could however scarcely yet be called an army, for it was formed of heterogeneous masses of men, suddenly assembled, very imperfectly armed and equipped, not regularly officered, and totally without discipline. For some time all was confusion, and in a very few days, when it appeared that there was no immediate danger of a renewal of hostilities, great numbers left the field and went home again, some with, and some without, good reason.

During all this time there was great anxiety lest the troops in Boston should make a sortie and attack them. But they did not. The absent men soon returned, or others came to supply their places. Order was gradually produced out of the confusion. Officers were appointed, the regular routine of discipline was established, and before many days a line of cantonments was formed, exding in a semi-circle all around the town, on the land side, for a distance of twenty miles, from Charlestown, on the north, to Roxbury, on the south, and General Gage found himself closely shut up and beseiged by so large a force as to make it hopeless for him to attempt to attack them.

STATE OF THINGS WITHIN THE TOWN.

The people within the town were thrown by this condition of things into a state of great agitation and alarm. General Gage at once closed all the avenues of egress, and would not allow any one to leave the place, nor would he permit the people to hold any communication with the neighboring towns, or to receive supplies of any kind. The whole population had been suddenly caught as in a trap, and unless there could be some way of obtaining speedy relief, hundreds of families saw imminently impending over them all the horrors of absolute want, if not of actual starvation.

General Gage himself was, moreover, somewhat alarmed at his own situation, being apprehensive that in case an attack should be made upon him by the army without, the people of the town might, in their desperation, rise upon the troops and massacre them. So he concluded soon to offer the townspeople a compromise.

THE COMPROMISE.

The compromise which he offered was in this wise. He sought an interview with the selectmen, and informed them that he, on his part, would do no injury to the town, and no violence to any of

the people, provided that the people themselves would behave peaceably; and that if the inhabitants generally would bring in all the arms and ammunition which they had in their possession—each parcel properly enveloped and marked with the owner's name—and deliver them to be stored in Faneuil Hall, they should remain there under the charge of the selectmen, and in due time should be returned to the owners; and that after the arms were so deposited any of the inhabitants who wished should be permitted to leave the town with their families and their effects.

General Gage's motive for making this proposal was of course to disarm the town of Boston and relieve himself of all fear of an uprising of the inhabitants within his lines, to coöperate with any attack which might be made from without. The people were extremely unwilling to yield to him this advantage, but they had no alternative except absolute starvation, and they voted, in town meeting, to accept the terms.

The arms were accordingly collected and deposited in Faneuil Hall, and then, for a time, passes were given to all who desired them. Great numbers of the inhabitants left the city, a large proportion of the refugees consisting of families in a state of extreme destitution and distress.

The people of the surrounding towns immediately made systematic arrangements for receiving and taking care of these fugitives. A certain number were allotted to each town, where they were provided with shelter and with the means of satisfying their most urgent wants. The number thus succoured amounted to more than five thousand.

THE TORIES

The inhabitants of Boston were not by any means unanimous in their disposition to resist the mother country. A considerable number adhered to the government, and these, while the others were leaving the city, began to enroll themselves as soldiers in order to offer their services to General Gage. About two hundred, it is said, thus took up arms and joined themselves to the British forces. These men, it seems, as is usual in such cases, were more bitter and unsparing in their hostility to the insurgents than the British troops themselves, whom they volunteered to aid. They soon began to make objections to the policy of allowing so many of the inhabitants to leave the lines. They represented to General Gage that the besiegers, as soon as they found that all their friends had escaped from the town, would bombard and burn it; and that he ought to retain a sufficient number of them

especially of the women and children, to serve as hostages.

But General Gage had given his promise that if he people would deliver up their arms, he would allow them to depart in peace. This they had done, and how could he now violate his pledged word?

He was, however, convinced of the reality of the danger which the tories pointed out to him, and finally concluded substantially to follow their advice. He would not positively refuse passes to men who applied for them, but he began to encumber the passes with various vexatious conditions and hindrances; and he made such arrangements that the different members of the same family were obliged to go at different times, and in different ways, so as to become separated from each other, and also to be separated from their household goods and other property; and these difficulties and embarrassments had the effect of preventing many families from going at all, while he could still claim that he had not violated his agreement, but only made such arrangements for carrying it into effect as military necessity required.

The Americans were, of course, greatly exasperated at these proceedings.

TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT.

As the news of General Gage's attempt to seize the stores at Concord spread throughout the country, and after the first impulse which prompted the sending of all the men that could be raised to the vicinity of Boston had in some measure subsided, some thinking men began to consider whether it was not now the turn of the colonists to try the plan of the seizure of stores and munitions of war.

By looking at the map at the head of this chapter, the reader will observe that there is an almost continuous valley extending north from the seaboard at New York to the banks of the St. Lawrence, in Canada—as indicated by the course of the Hudson River—the line of the Lakes George and Champlain, and the river Sorel. This valley had been for many years the principal channel of communication between Canada and the colonies on the Atlantic coast, and had been the scene of many military operations in the wars which the English had waged with the Indians on the northern frontier, and with the French when the French were in possession of Canada.

During this time two strong fortresses had been constructed on the shores of the narrow part of Lake Champlain, to guard the pass. These for-

tresses were at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. They were garrisoned at this time by British troops, and a considerable quantity of military stores had been collected there.

The possession of these forts, involving, as it did, the possession of the pass which they commanded, enabled the British to cut off all communication between Canada and the other colonies, and thus to prevent the Canadians from joining them, if they had been disposed to do so, and also put it in the power of the British to bring an armed force down from Canada by that route, and thus attack the Atlantic colonies in the rear.

SECRET EXPEDITIONS FITTED OUT.

The Americans understanding this state of things, saw very soon the desirableness of sending an expedition at once to seize these forts, before the British should have time to strengthen the garrisons.

No less than three several parties were formed for this purpose, in a great measure independent of each other. They came to an understanding with each other, however, before reaching the lake, and forming a junction not far from the southern end of it, they organized the whole expedition under Colonel Ethan Allen, a Vermont officer, who acquired

from his bravery on this and on many subsequent occasions great renown.

CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA.

They sent a detachment to the southern end of the lake—the site of the present town of Whitehall—to procure boats, while the main body proceeded by land through the woods to a point on the shore opposite to Ticonderoga.

When the main body at length arrived at the point opposite the fort, they found that the boats which they had expected from the upper end of the lake had not come down.* But they immediately began to make arrangements for crossing the water. They procured all the boats that they could from the vicinity, and engaged a boy named Nathan Beman, who had often gone over to play with the boys in the fort, as their guide.

* The Whitehall end of the lake is the *lower* end, as it appears *on the map*, it being the southern end; but, as the waters of Lake Champlain have a gentle motion to the northward, and pass off by the Sorel river into the St. Lawrence, the southern end of the lake is really the upper end, and in describing military operations, the terms upper and lower are used in reference to the actual flow of the water, or the descent of the land, and not according to the relations of places to the upper and lower edges of the paper, on which the map is drawn. Young readers very often make serious mistakes by not being aware of this, or by not keeping it in mind

They waited on the eastern shore till about midnight, hoping that more boats would come, and keeping themselves all carefully concealed. At midnight they began to cross, taking every precaution to preserve the strictest silence, in order to avoid giving any alarm. Those that landed first waited for the boats to return for the others, and when at length it was drawing so near to the morning that they did not dare to postpone the assault any longer—for they wished to break in upon the garrison while they were all asleep—they marched very silently to the entrance of the fort. The sentinel on duty challenged them and snapped his gun at them, but the gun missed fire. The sentinel then fled within the fort, and the whole party pressed in after him, and formed themselves in order of combat in the great square.

The garrison had by this time taken the alarm. They leaped from their bunks and rushed out to the doors, but they saw at once that they were overpowered. They were outnumbered, they perceived, by the intruders, two to one, and they did not attempt to make any resistance.

Colonel Allen went at once to the room occupied by Captain Delaplace, the commander of the fort, and knocked clamorously on the door with the hilt of his sword. Captain Delaplace came in great

alarm to open the door to demand what was the matter. His wife, greatly frightened, came behind him, and stood in her night-dress, peeping over his shoulder.

Colonel Allen answered the captain's question by pointing to his men, and ordering him to surrender the fort. The captain asked by what authority he demanded a surrender. Colonel Allen replied in a thundering tone, that he demanded it by authority of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.

This reply has been much admired for the spirit and energy which it displayed; but, unfortunately, it did not express the truth, for the colonel had no authority whatever from the Continental Congress, nor in fact from any other political organization whatever.

This, however, probably made very little difference in the case, in his estimation, as military men, I believe, do not usually hold themselves very strictly to the observance of the rules of truth and veracity, in their communications with the enemy, while engaged in actual hostilities.

However this may be, Captain Delaplace perceived that the case was hopeless, and he decided at once to yield.

Immediately after the surrender was made, Col-

nel Allen sent all the soldiers in the fort as prisoners of war to Hartford. The military stores which fell into his hands consisted of several hundred pieces of cannon of various kinds—three cart loads of flints—ten tons of bullets—a great quantity of shells—thirty gun carriages—a hundred stand of small arms—ten casks of powder, and about fifty barrels of provisions. All these supplies he sent at once to the head-quarters, at Cambridge, of the army besieging Boston.

OTHER SUCCESSES ON THE LAKE.

The capture of Ticonderoga was only the beginning, however, of the success of the expedition. A day or two after this, a force proceeded *down* the lake—that is, to the northward—and took possession of Crown Point, another fort, a few miles beyond, where, as at Ticonderoga, they surprised the garrison and captured the fort without encountering any resistance. Here they obtained another large supply of military stores of various kinds, which were also sent off to the American army before Boston.

After this, the expedition obtained possession of a vessel which they armed, and then proceeded with her down the lake to the outlet of it, where they captured a sloop-of-war, and also another fort

which stood on the shores of the river Sorel. In a word, they obtained complete possession of the lake from one extremity of it to the other, and thus enabled the Continental Congress, when it came to take cognizance of the proceedings, to hold under their control the main avenue of communication between the colonies and Canada, besides largely increasing the supply of arms, ammunition, and provisions required for the troops besieging Boston.

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

One of the principal and most active of the officers of this expedition, in connection with Colonel Allen, was Benedict Arnold—the officer who afterwards acquired so great a notoriety by his treasonable attempt to betray West Point on the Hudson, which had been placed under his command, to the British army.

MEETING OF THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

The capture of Ticonderoga took place on the 10th of May, 1775, on the very day that the second Continental Congress assembled. The first congress, as the reader will doubtless recollect, limited itself in its action to the issuing of petitions, manifestoes, and addresses, but the battle of

Lexington, and the spirit that it had aroused throughout the country, showed very clearly that the time for parleying was past, and the hour of action had come. The new congress, accordingly, set themselves diligently at work in making arrangements for combining the whole force of all the colonies in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

FINAL APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT AND TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Before proceeding to this work, however, they made one more final, but most earnest, appeal, first to the government of Great Britain, by a petition to the king; and secondly, to the people of England, by a memorial addressed directly to *them*, in which they conjured them to come to the rescue of their fellow-citizens in America, who only claimed the same rights and privileges which they themselves enjoyed, disavowing at the same time all intention or wish to separate themselves from the mother country, and only asking that they might continue to live as they had done—faithful and loyal subjects of the king—provided, solely, that they might be permitted to enjoy, as heretofore, the inalienable rights pertaining to them as free-born Englishmen.

ARRANGEMENT IN RESPECT TO FUNDS.

The congress, however, had no hope that these representations could now be of any avail, except, perhaps, to increase the numbers and strengthen the hands of their friends in England, and thus tend to restrain the government, in some degree, in the hostile measures which they were inclined to adopt, and possibly embarrassing them in the prosecution of the war. Accordingly, having agreed upon the forms of these remonstrances, and provided for the issuing of them, congress proceeded at once to the adoption of the most vigorous measures for carrying on the war.

They voted to issue bills of credit to the amount of three millions of dollars, to provide the necessary funds, and pledged the faith of all the colonies for the payment of the bills at a future time. The intention was that these bills should be paid out as money for the purchase of arms, ammunition and supplies, and for the other expenses incurred, and that they would pass from hand to hand among the people as money until the conclusion of the war, when arrangements should be made for redeeming them, by an equuitable tax assessed upon the people of all the colonies.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

Congress next proceeded to organize the army, by ombining all the different bodies of men that had so hastily come together before Boston from the neighboring states, into one body, and drawing up a system of rules and regulations for the army thus formed. They also made arrangements for enlisting troops, so as greatly to enlarge the number in the field. They made provisions for forming a battalion of artillery, to be under the command of General Knox.

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Finally, after much mature deliberation, and the careful consideration of the qualifications and claims of many distinguished officers, they agreed to appoint General George Washington commander-in-chief. Washington had been distinguished in former wars, as appears in the previous volumes of this series, for sound judgment, great uprightness and integrity of character, and a certain calm and quiet energy, which gave him great power. He was at this time residing, as a gentleman of wealth and influence, on his plantation at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac, and was personally

known to all the members of congress, being himself a prominent member of that body.

Soon after his appointment Washington proceeded to Cambridge, where he established his head-quarters and took command of the army.

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

General Washington took command of the forces early in July. On his arrival at Cambridge he found the position of affairs in relation to the siege considerably altered by the battle of Bunker Hill, which had taken place nearly two weeks before.

The reader will recollect that Boston stands upon a peninsula, which itself is in the middle of a bay, and thus is entirely surrounded by *water*, except at the southward, where a narrow neck connects the peninsula with the main land,—and beyond the water by *land*, except at the eastward, where a narrow channel of water connects the bay with the sea.* The land, on all sides bordering the bay, is comparatively level, except on the north and on the south, where there are considerable elevations commanding the town and the harbor. On the north, in Charlestown, the heights were called Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill; those on the south

* See Map.

the Heights of Dorchester. The battle of Bunker Hill was a contest for the possession of these northern heights.

The Americans learned in some way that General Gage was making preparations to take possession of and fortify both these commanding positions, and they at once determined to anticipate him.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EXPEDITION.

The expedition was organized on the 18th of June. Colonel Prescott was the officer appointed to take command of it. All the arrangements were made in the most secret manner possible. The number of troops detailed for the service was about one thousand. There was a party of about two hundred provided with picks, spades, shovels and other tools, for working at the intrenchments. The whole force was furnished with packs and blankets, and with provisions for twenty-four hours.

When the men were all assembled, they were drawn up in order, and the president of Harvard College, Dr. Langdon, according to an arrangement previously made, offered a very solemn and impressive prayer, imploring the blessing of Almighty God upon the undertaking, and his guardian protection and care for those who were embarking in it. After the prayer was concluded,

the order was given to march, and the whole body began to move forward.

THE MARCH.

It was now about nine o'clock in the evening,—the earliest practicable hour for commencing any secret movements, as in that latitude, and at that season of the year, the evening twilight lingers till about that time. The sky was clear and the stars were shining, but still there was not light enough to guide the march safely, and two servants were provided to go at the head of the column, carrying dark lanterns, to be used if occasion should require.

The body moved with the utmost silence and secrecy. Indeed so great were the precautions that had been taken, that the men themselves did not know where they were going, or what was the object of the expedition.

BUNKER HILL.

The column proceeded in this way till it reached Charlestown Neck, and then passed over the Neck to the peninsula. The plan was to make the proposed intrenchments upon an eminence then known as Bunker's Hill. On arriving at this spot, however, Colonel Prescott perceived that there was another hill farther forward and nearer Boston

and which he consequently supposed would be a more advantageous position. He accordingly moved on to this advanced ground, and proceeded during the night to construct his redoubt upon it; and it was this hill, known then as Breed's Hill, that was the scene of the battle which took place on the following day. The name of this eminence was afterchanged, by common consent, to Bunker-Hill, and it is there that the great monument stands, to commemorate the battle.

WORK DURING THE NIGHT.

An engineer officer immediately proceed to mark out the ground, on what was then Breed's, but is now Bunker Hill, and the men commenced their work in silence and secrecy. Well did it behoove them to work in silence and secrecy, for in commencing their excavations they were entirely exposed, and were within easy range of the guns of six British men-of-war, lying at anchor in the harbor,—some near and some more remote—and also of batteries of artillery from the garrison in the town; and from time to time they could hear the call of the sentinel on guard, calling out the time, and shouting, "All's well!"

Their only hope was, that under the cover of darkness they could push forward their work with

so much energy as to raise the rampart high enough to afford them shelter before morning. They were sure of being discovered as soon as daylight should appear.

They succeeded well in their work. Before morning they had constructed quite a formidable redoubt. The front toward the harbor and the town was narrow, but it contained two embrasures for cannon, which, when placed, might be fired upon the shipping. At the two extreme ends of this front two large apple-trees stood, which served to strengthen the corners.

The flanks, running back from the front, extended far enough to the rear to include a space eight rods square, and they were well secured by ditches and parapets, with reëntering angles and bastions, arranged so as to cover every approach.

Nearly the whole of the exterior portion of the work was finished before the light of the morning enabled the sentinels on board the ships to discover what was going on.

THE ALARM.

Very soon after daylight the sentinel on board the Lively, one of the ships-of-war, spied the redoubt. He immediately sent word to the captain below. The captain came hurriedly to the deck

and perceiving at once the true state of the case, ordered his guns to be trained upon the works on he hill, and opened fire.

This at once communicated the alarm and spread the intelligence of what had occurred to all the shipping in the harbor, and also to the garrison in the town; and as soon as the proper arrangements could be made, a general cannonading of the works was opened from nearly all the vessels of war and also from a battery of artillery in Boston, which was brought up and ordered to take a position for the purpose on Copp's Hill.

The whole town, in the meantime, was thrown into a state of the wildest commotion. The people were awakened from their sleep by the first firing, and perceiving by the peculiar sound of the reports, that the guns were shotted, knew at once that something very serious was occurring. They sprang from their beds, and hastily dressing themselves, rushed out to ascertain what was the matter.

The story that they heard was, that the provincial troops were attacking the town in great numbers, and that there was imminent danger that the British troops would be overwhelmed. All that portion of the inhabitants that had sent in their adhesion to General Gage were thrown, by this intelligence, into a state of great alarm. Their ter-

ror was increased by the tumult and confusion which prevailed. The constant booming of the guns, the thundering of trains of artillery through the streets, the marching of troops, the galloping of officers to and fro, and the mournful clangor of the church bells, ringing the alarm, created a scene which those who witnessed it, could never recall without emotion to their dying day.

AN ASSAULT BY INFANTRY RESOLVED UPON.

The cannonading of the redoubt by the ships and the battery produced but little effect. The rampart was six feet high, and it entirely protected the men within. It was so broad, moreover, that the balls, even when they struck it, buried themselves in the earth, and effected no serious damage.

One soldier, indeed, who went outside the works to execute some service, was struck and killed. This circumstance seemed to make a deep impression on the minds of the men, and Colonel Prescott, in order to reassure them, went out and walked deliberately around the redoubt to inspect the condition of the face of it, thus exposing himself fully to the fire.

While doing this, General Gage, who happened at that time to be reconnoitering the works from Boston, saw him. He asked a gentleman standing near him

who that was. Strangely enough, the gentleman thus addressed, was Colonel Prescott's own brother-in-law, Mr. Willard. On being told the officer's name, General Gage asked Mr. Willard if he was a man that would fight. Mr. Willard replied, that he would fight as long as there was a drop of blood in his veins.

General Gage immediately called a council of war, and at the meeting it was determined that the Americans must on no account be permitted to hold that position; and since it appeared that they could not be driven from it by artillery, there was no alternative but to take a body of infantry across in boats, march up the hill, and carry the place by storm.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONTEST.

The arrangements were promptly made, and about noon between two and three thousand men were embarked in barges from Long Wharf, under the command of General Howe, and were brought across the water and landed on the beach—all in full view of the Americans in the redoubt, but beyond the reach of their musketry. At two o'clock another embarkation came over, bringing the force up to about four thousand men.

All this time the comparatively small body of

men in the redoubt watched the progress of these preparations with calmness and determined resolution, but with feelings of great solemnity and awe. Scarcely any of them were soldiers or had ever before seen military service of any kind. They were fatigued with the severe and increasing toil in which they had spent the night. Their supply of food was insufficient, and their stock of ammunition was small. They had hoped and expected not to be attacked, except, perhaps, by cannonading from the ships, until their artillery should be brought up, and full supplies of ammunition and of food, and also strong reinforcements, should arrive. But all these expectations were disappointed by the promptness and energy of General Gage, who, within a few hours after the first intimation which he received of the affair, had a body of tried and disciplined troops, four times the number of those who were to be attacked, all in array, at the foot of the hill, ready to march up the gentle ascent, and carry th place by storm.

Nor were the Americans, on their part, idle Those within the redoubt made all possible prepar ations for the coming conflict. In Cambridge, when the alarm was given, all was excitement and hurry. The work of organizing and sending forward reinforcements was expedited as rapidly as possible

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts was then assembled at Watertown, a few miles off, and the president of it, General Warren, as soon as he heard the news, mounted his horse, and rode at full speed through Cambridge to Charlestown, and reached the redoubt just before General Howe gave the order to his men to commence their march up the hill.

THE BATTLE.

It would be painful to dwell upon the awful scene of carnage and suffering which followed the advance of the British columns to the attack. The Americans waited patiently until the enemy came very near, in order to economize their scanty store of ammunition. All this time, however, the guns of the vessels-of-war in the harbor and of the batteries in Boston were pouring in upon the fortifications an incessant and terrific cannonading. The Americans reserved their fire until the assailants were so near that their volley, when delivered, was awfully destructive, and the troops were driven back in utter confusion down the hill. There they were formed again for another assault. Fresh officers came over from Boston. The cannonading from the ships and the batteries was redoubled. The town of Charlestown was set on fire by what

are called carcasses and hot shot thrown into it from Boston—according to a determination which General Gage had previously formed, that he would burn the town in the event of the Americans taking possession of any of the eminences near it—and was soon involved in a general conflagration.

Amidst all the terrific din produced by these causes—the thundering of the artillery—the whistling of the flying balls—the cries and screams of terror and distress uttered by the inhabitants of the burning town as they fled from the ruins—the groans of the wounded and dying that lay on the slope of the hill—the British troops marched again to the assault. Again they were repulsed; and once more—a third time—they were reorganized and forced forward again. By this time the garrison was exhausted, their numbers were greatly diminished, their supply of ammunition was nearly spent, and, at length, in the end, the men that were left were compelled to abandon the ground, and make their way back to some place of shelter and safety in the rear.

THE SPECTACLE.

If it were not like a mockery to attribute any character of beauty to so awful a scene of conflagration and carnage as this, it could justly be said

that the battle of Bunker Hill afforded one of the most picturesque and imposing spectacles of conflict that the world has ever witnessed. The elevated grounds of Boston, Charlestown, and the islands in the bay, surround the harbor, and form a vast, though irregular amphitheatre, within which, and in full view of ten thousand spectators assembled in the town of Boston, or gathered in various hamlets dotting the neigboring shores, the whole awful scene was enacted. The conformation of the land and water is such that the beginning, the progress, and the end of the combat, and even the subordinate incidents that accompanied it, the outlines and form of the redoubt on the brow of the hill, the stations of the ships-of-war in the harbor, the positions of the batteries in Boston, the flight of the shells through the air, the movements of the bodies of troops, now assembling for embarkation, now passing in lines of transports across the water, and now marshalling themselves on the shore and marching up to the attack—the terrible fury of the assaults—the assailants twice repelled and thrown back in confusion down the hill—the flames of the burning town, the flight of the inhabitants, and the rolling masses of smoke drifting slowly away and waving like a banner of death over the scene of the conflict—were all nearly as much under the

eye of the observers as if the conflict had been a spectacle purposely arranged and exhibited in a vast natural Coliseum.

THE VICTORY.

The victory, in a military point of view, was clearly with the British, for they accomplished their purpose of taking the redoubt, and the Americans were forced to abandon their ground. But the moral victory in the contest was altogether on the other side. The hopes which the government had entertained of the easy triumph which their trained and disciplined soldiers would secure over the hastily-collected bands of farmers and farmers' boys, fresh from their fields, were at once dispelled. They saw now clearly that a long and terrible struggle was before them. On calling the rolls after the battle, they found that they had lost over a thousand men in killed and wounded out of about three thousand brought into action—an almost unprecelented proportion of the combatants to be left upon the field.

On the other hand, the result of the contest on the American side, was a full conviction on the part of the colonists, of their ability to cope with British troops on equal terms, and to awaken throughout the country an unbounded enthusiasm

in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war Fresh levies of soldiers were made and were brought rapidly to reinforce the army around Boston; and though the English retained possession of Bunker Hill, they were surrounded and shut in within their lines more closely than ever.

LONG CONTINUANCE OF THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

Things continued substantially in this condition in and around Boston for many months. During this interval there occurred in some of the other colonies several events of considerable importance, which will be more particularly referred to in the next chapter. Some changes, too, took place in the state of things in and around Boston. General Washington took command of the American army early in July, about a fortnight after the battle of Bunker Hill. On the other hand, General Gage was relieved from the command of the British troops in Boston, and General Howe became his successor. The British troops were considerably reinforced and they continued to hold the town, but were no strong enough to issue from their lines and attack the American forces hemming them in.

CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

Nor was the American army any better able to

undertake offensive operations against them. General Washington found, when he came to examine the condition of his troops, that everything was to be done. There was no order and no discipline. Many of the officers had been elected by the men from among their own number, and knew nothing of military affairs. The men were enlisted only for short periods, and no permanent arrangements for organization and discipline could be made with them. There were no proper arms, and only gunpowder enough at one time to give nine cartridges to each man. There were no tents, not a sufficient supply of food, and no proper means in operation for procuring more. General Washington at once set himself at work to remedy all these evils, but he could only act by securing the adoption of proper measures by the Continental Congress, and in doing this, he could not freely make known his wants and deficiencies, for fear that the information might reach the enemy, and bring on an attack from them while he was in so defenceless a condition.

In the course of the summer and autumn, however, by means of great prudence and sagacity, and by that calm and quiet energy so characteristic of the man, Washington succeeded in putting his army in an efficient condition, though the country, not

knowing the difficulties which he had to contend with, became very impatient at the delay. Some persons even charged him with purposely idling away the time of his troops in order that he might enjoy the pomp and parade of being a general without incurring any danger. He bore all these unjust insinuations patiently, and waited until everything was ready.

THE HEIGHTS OF DORCHESTER.

The heights of Charlestown, including Bunker Hill, overlook Boston and the harbor from the north, while on the south there are similar, but considerably higher eminences, called the Heights of Dorchester. Washington at last resolved to repeat the Bunker Hill operation, on a larger scale, by sending up a body of men in the night to take possession of a commanding eminence there, in hopes of fortifying it so strongly before morning that they could not be dislodged.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE HEIGHTS ACCOMPLISHED.

Washington made his arrangements in the most secret manner, and the more effectually to divert the attention of the British from his designs, he commenced a bombardment of the town in a different quarter, and continued it three nights in suc-

cession. A great many houses were struck and destroyed, and several persons were killed.

At length, on the third night, which was that of the 4th of March, 1776, the movement for the occupation of the heights was undertaken and carried out very successfully, according to the arrangements previously made. The detachment consisted of two thousand men—double the number that had been employed in the case of Bunker Hill. The ground was in many places frozen, making it very difficult to dig into it, and accordingly it had been determined to build the rampart in part of fascines and bundles of hay. These were hauled up the hill by a long train of carts, three hundred in number. In some parts of the road hay was spread over the ground to deaden the sound of the wheels. It was a moonlight night, yet such were the precautions taken that the British sentinels did not perceive what was going on, and by the dawn of day the works were so far completed as to be secure against attack. Even some pieces of light artillery had been brought up and mounted in positions that completely commanded both the town and the ships of war in the harbor.

ALARM OF GENERAL HOWE.

It is said that General Howe was greatly alarmed

the next morning, when he saw what had been done. He was very much astonished, too, to find how much had been accomplished in a single night. He said the enemy had effected more in one night than his whole army would have done in a month.

He was much alarmed for the safety of his own position. This alarm was greatly increased by the assurance given him by the admiral of the fleet, that if the Americans were allowed to remain on the heights until they should have time to bring up their heavy guns, all the vessels of war in the harbor would be entirely at their mercy.

General Howe accordingly determined, as General Gage had done under similar circumstances before, in the case of Bunker Hill, that he must make an attempt to dislodge them.

FAILURE OF THE ATTEMPT TO DISLODGE THE AMERICANS.

Immediate measures were taken to carry this plan into effect. A force was organized, and boats were made ready to transport the men to the shore, at the foot of the ascent. Washington, on his part, sent large reinforcements to the works, and made prompt arrangements for strengthening them in every way. He also provided a quantity of barrels, filled with stones and sand, to be rolled down upon the column of assailants when ascending the hill.

The weather, in the morning, while all these preparations were in progress, was very fine, but it was in the treacherous month of March that these events occurred, and at noon there were signs of a change. The men, however, proceeded to embark in the boats, but they had scarcely left the shore before a squall came on, ending in almost a hurricane. The wind soon began to roll in so heavy a surf upon the shore where the boats were to land, that it was impossible to approach it, and the expedition was compelled to return. The storm raged with great fury for the whole of that night, and during the following day. All this time the Americans continued incessantly at work in strengthening their defences, and General Howe concluded at last, when the storm was over, that it would now be impossible to dislodge them. So the attempt was abandoned.

THE EVACUATION OF THE TOWN.

General Howe now determined to save his army by evacuating the town. As soon as this determination was arrived at, and measures begun to be taken for carrying it into effect, there ensued a scene of universal confusion, terror and distress throughout the town, as if it were an impending destruction instead of a deliverance that the people saw before them. The loyalists, or tories, as they

were called, that is, those who had been in sympathy with the British government, were in consternation. After doing what they had done, they dared not remain in the town and face the triumhant entry of their fellow-countrymen, by whom they would of course be regarded as traitors. They consequently resolved to go away on board the British ships, and they commenced packing up their goods in great haste and confusion, and burning and destroying what they found they could not carry away. They, and the soldiers with them, also commenced a system of pillage upon the other inhabitants that remained, and great numbers of houses and stores were sacked and plundered. The people of the town were helpless to defend themselves against these outrages, and besides, they were in a state of constant fear that the troops, when they left, would set the town on fire.

General Howe, on the other hand, was equally uneasy, being in great fear that the Americans would fire upon his troops while in the process of embarkation, when, of course, being crowded together at the landing, or in the boats, or on the decks of the vessels, they would be utterly helpless. Finally, after some negotiations, there was a sort of informal agreement made that if the British troops would leave the town uninjured, the Ameri-

cans would not molest them during the embarkation.

The preparations for the embarkation were not complete until the 15th of February, when, in the midst of a scene of great tumult and confusion, the troops, accompanied by about a thousand of the inhabitants, were crowded on board the fleet of transports, which had been hastily provided for the occasion, and after being detained in the harbor for a day or two by easterly winds, the whole fleet finally put to sea, and disappeared.

As soon as it was fully certain that the army was gone, a body of American troops cut a passage through the line of intrenchments on the Neck, and took possession of the town. A few days afterwards, General Washington entered in triumph at the head of the main body of the army, and was welcomed with unbounded joy and gratitude by the inhabitants that remained, who now saw at last some prospect of their having reached the end of the protracted suffering and distress which they had so long endured.

CHAPTER III.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

PROGRESS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

DURING the time while the events, related in the last chapter, had been taking place in and around Boston, various collisions and contests had occurred in other parts of the land, the effect of which was greatly to increase and extend the animosity of the people against the government of Great Britain, and gradually to form a public sentiment in favor of sundering entirely the connection which bound the colonies to the mother country, and of establishing an independent nation.

LORD DUNMORE AND VIRGINIA.

The people of Virginia were aroused to a high state of excitement by certain proceedings of Lord Dunmore, who was at that time the royal governor of the colony. He began, as General Gage did at Lexington, by attempting to seize a supply of ammunition belonging to the province, which had been deposited in the town of Williamsburg, in an

old magazine.* Williamsburg was at that time the seat of government for the colony and the residence of the governor.

RESULT OF THE SEIZURE.

There was a vessel-of-war, the Magdalen, at anchor in the river, a little below the town, and one night, the governor, having made his preparations beforehand, caused the powder to be all secretly conveyed away from the magazine at midnight, and safely stored on board the man-of-war.

The news of the affair spread rapidly on the following day, and created great excitement. The minute men, who had been previously enrolled, as in Massachusetts, were immediately called out, and when a considerable force had been assembled, a delegation was sent to the governor to demand a return of the powder to the provincial authorities.

The governor gave an evasive answer, and some negotiations followed, which were continued for several days—the excitement all the time increasing—until at last news came that Patrick Henry, who lived sixty or seventy miles up the country, was marching toward Williamsburg at the head of a

* See Map at the commencement of Chapter X.

considerable body of armed men, to aid in forcing the governor to return the property.

The governor now began to be alarmed for his own personal safety, and he finally offered to settle the dispute by paying the value of the gunpowder in money. This offer was finally accepted, and the money was paid.

RAPID PROGRESS OF THE QUARREL.

But though the money was paid, the dispute was by no means settled. The governor was a very proud and haughty man, and entertained very lofty ideas of his own importance as a British peer, and as the representative in Virginia of the royal authority; and he was filled with indignation and rage at having been compelled to succumb, in the execution of a trust committed to him by the king, to a mob of low and contemptible provincials. He openly expressed his rage, and in the most unmeasured terms. He issued a proclamation, denouncing "one Patrick Henry and his deluded followers," as seditious and treasonable disturbers of the peace. He threatened, in case any more such proceedings should take place, to make open war upon the province, emancipate the slaves, and arm them against their masters. He turned his own palace at Williamsburg into a sort of fort, established

a garrison in it, and surrounded it with cannon.

All these things greatly irritated the people, and made them more earnest than ever in preparing to defend themselves. Public meetings were held in the various counties, and resolutions were passed, in which the character and conduct of Patrick Henry were vindicated in the most decided terms, and committees of vigilance were formed to take measures, in concert with each other, for the public defence.

This state of things continued for several weeks, the excitement against the governor growing deeper, and being more and more boldly expressed all the time. The governor vainly endeavored, by threats and by various attempts at intimidation, to overawe the people and reduce them to obedience. But all was in vain. At length he began to be alarmed for his own safety, and finally he left Williamsburg with his family, went over to Yorktown, and there embarked on board a British man-of-war that was lying there. The name of the vessel was the Fowey.

This act of the governor of withdrawing from the capital, which the people of Virginia considered as an abdication of his office, took place in June, 1775, a short time before the battle of Bunker

Hill. Lord Dunmore continued for some time after this to send communications to the legislature, and they made respectful replies to them, but at length when the time for closing the session arrived, they reported to him that there were a number of bills awaiting his signature, and requested him to return to the seat of government to sign them, offering to guarantee his personal safety. He refused to return, but called upon the legislature to come to him with the bills, and present them to him for signature at his then present residence—that is, on board the ship. This the assembly refused to do; and they immediately organized a provisional government for the state, through the action of which a series of elections were held, and a new permanent government was organized. The province was thenceforth entirely independent of all control from the crown of Great Britain.

The arrangements for this new government were not, however, entirely completed until May, of the following year, about two months before the independence of all the provinces was declared by the Continental congress, as will presently be explained.

RAVAGES OF GOVERNOR DUNMORE ON THE VIRGINIA COAST.

During the interval while the province was gradually organizing its own independent govern-

ment, Lord Dunmore assembled a naval force in the waters at the mouth of the Chesapeake, and ruising with it along the coast, committed many avages. He burned Hampton, Norfolk and many other towns, and sometimes landing a body of troops, he made incursions into the interior, to harrass the people, and punish them for their rebellious proceedings. These acts of violence, however, instead of subduing the spirit of the people, only aroused more effectually their determination to resist and defy him. In many of the encounters of his troops with the volunteers that assembled to oppose him, he was defeated. Some of his ships were destroyed by batteries from the shore, and others were driven off the coast. By and by he began to be convinced that his case was hopeless, and at length, after suffering a signal defeat upon an island where he had encamped his troops, and near which he had anchored his ships, the Americans having attacked him by batteries erected on the shore, and destroyed many of his vessels, he embarked on board the remnant of his fleet and went to New York, whence he soon after sailed for England.

RAVAGES OF THE ENGLISH SHIPS IN NARRAGANSETT BAY.

The towns on the sea coast of Rhode Island were

plundered and destroyed in the same manner, during the summer of 1775, by the British vessels of war cruising there, under the command of Admiral Wallace. The difficulty began by a contest for the possession of the cattle and sheep belonging to the people of the province. There was a rumor that the naval commanders were intending to seize them or the purpose of victualling of the fleet, and a combination was formed among the farmers and their sons, to drive them away into the interior, where they would be secure. This was done secretly, in the night, and Admiral Wallace was greatly incensed at thus losing his expected prize. He immediately began to make demands upon the towns for supplies of provisions, and on their refusing them, he bombarded and burned them. In this way he effected a vast amount of injury upon the people, expelling great numbers of them from their houses, and reducing them to a state of great destitution and suffering.

BARBARITY OF THIS MODE OF WARFARE.

Such a mode of warfare as this is universally considered barbarous, and it almost invariably fails of accomplishing its object. Legitimate warfare consists, according to modern usages and laws, in seeking to subdue armed and organized bodies of

the enemy, so as to destroy or overcome their military power; and so far as it becomes necessary, in the work of accomplishing this end, to burn towns or destroy private property, there is scarcely any limit to the injuries which may be thus incidentally inflicted upon a non-combatant population. But when the operations of a belligerent have for their direct object and end the destroying of defenceless towns, driving out by fire and sword the unarmed citizens or helpless women and children that inhabit them, merely for the purpose of producing suffering, whether this be done under the influence of resentment and revenge, or as a matter of policy for the purpose of bringing the husbands and fathers in arms to submission, by subjecting them to torture through the sufferings of their wives and children at home, we have a mode of conducting hostilities which is condemned by the common judgment of mankind as wholly unworthy of any civilized power.

These proceedings of Lord Dunmore and of Admiral Wallace were almost as severely censured by Englishmen in the British parliament as they were by Americans in the provincial assemblies.

The only effect, too, that was produced in the colonies by these cruelties was greatly to increase and strengthen the feeling of hostility to the English government which prevailed throughout the

land, and to bring the people more rapidly and more decidedly than ever to the determination to be satisfied with nothing less than absolute independence.

INVASION OF CANADA.

Toward the latter part of the summer of 1775 while the American troops were investing Boston, a plan was formed for sending an expedition into Canada, with a view of taking possession of that province before the British could strengthen themselves there,—a plan, the discussion of which brought up very prominently before the minds of the leading men in America the question of independence. On the one hand the English were gathering together their forces in Canada, and might, if undisturbed, before long come down with an army upon the northern and western frontier, and thus attack the colonies in the rear, and in a quarter greatly exposed. It was extremely important to anticipate any movement of this kind. On the other hand, how could the colonies, consistently with the purely defensive policy which they claimed to be pursuing, undertake the sending off of an expedition to invade another province, which made no complaint against the government of the mother country.

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Benedict Arnold was one of the leading projectors of this enterprise. He was an unprincipled and vicious, but a very daring and desperate man, and he was at the time making some difficulty in the army at Cambridge by his quarrels with the officers in command of the expedition to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with whom he had been associated in the operations on Lake Champlain, and with whom he had various disagreements. After much deliberation and debate, it was finally concluded by a committee of Congress which had been sent on to confer with Washington on the subject, to organize an expedition against Canada, and to give Arnold the command of one branch of it. The advance was to be made on two lines,—one by Lake Champlain and Montreal, and the other through Maine, up the valley of the Kennebec and thence down the Chaudière, in Canada.* Arnold was to take command of the detachmen which was to proceed by the latter route.

PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION.

A large party of carpenters were sent forward to the head of navigation of the Kennebec to build

* See Map at the commencement of Chapter II.

a number of light boats for ascending the river, and soon afterward Arnold commenced his march at the head of eleven hundred men. The troops proceeded by land to Newburyport, and there embarked on board sailing vessels, which had been provided for them, and sailed to the Kennebec. The vessels took them up the river to the head of navigation, near the town of Gardiner. Here they found the carpenters, who had been industriously at work, and had built them a fleet of two hundred light flat-bottomed boats, such as could be conveyed without great difficulty, by land around waterfalls, and other similar obstructions.

DIFFICULTIES AND HARDSHIPS ENCOUNTERED BY THE EXPEDITION.

It would be extremely interesting, if space allowed, to give a full account of the progress of this memorable expedition and of the hardships and sufferings which the men endured—of the severe and exhausting toil required to transport the boats and their cargoes around the falls and rapids—of the difficulty arising from the increasing swiftness of the current as they ascended the river, making it necessary at last for the men to wade in the water more than knee-deep half the time, and pull the boats after them—of the boats becoming leaky and

falling out of repair, and of the vexatious delays and the severe labor necessary for rebuilding them—of the spoiling of their provisions from the influx of water—of the discouragement of many of the men, and the consequent desertions, which were steadily, and not very slowly reducing their number—of the rain storms and the snow storms which impeded their progress, and the freshets carrying everything before them which the rains often produced—and of the tangled thickets and deep marshes and frightful ravines, through which they had to make their way in passing across the intervening land between the headwaters of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. Then in descending the Chaudière, having no guides and no knowledge of the river, they were often caught by the current and borne on resistlessly by it over rapids, and among rocks, and into boiling eddies and whirlpools, by which their boats were often swamped, the cargoes lost, and sometimes the men drowned—and finally, after two months of incessant hardship, exposure, and toil, the little army, diminished in numbers, exhausted in strength, and now very scantily supplied with food and clothing, came out upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, opposite to Quebec, and saw across the river the walls and battlements of the city—the object of all their labors and sufferings—

crowning the heights of Abraham, full before them.

FINAL FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION.

The heroism and the fortitude which this little band displayed in their subsequent operations against Quebec, were deserving of success, but they were not destined to meet with it. Arnold's forces were too much enfeebled by the fatigues of the march and by the losses which they had endured, to act effectually against such a city as Quebec, which is built mainly upon a lofty eminence overlooking the river, and was even then so strongly fortified as to make it a citadel rather than a town. After making some vain attempts to assault the place, Arnold was compelled to await the arrival of Montgomery's army, which was coming by the way of Lake Champlain. When, at length, Montgomery arrived and the junction was effected, operations were commenced in earnest. But they were unsuccessful The combined force made a desperate assault upon the town in the depth of the winter and in the midst of a violent snow storm. But the attempt failed. Montgomery, in leading a column of men along a narrow defile under the cliffs, encountered a half-concealed battery, from which there suddenly burst out upon them a storm of grape shot which

swept down great numbers of the men, and drove back the column, and some hours afterwards, his lifeless body, with those of many of his comrades, was dug out of the bloody snow. Arnold himself was wounded and disabled, and the troops were withdrawn.

Arnold was not, however, yet discouraged. He remained during the winter in Canada, directing the operations of his force from his sick bed, and vainly seeking an opportunity to retrieve his fortunes. He was obliged, however, at last to give up the attempt, and to make the best of his way back, with the remnant of his army, to the American lines.

REASSEMBLING OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

The Continental Congress, when assembled in the spring of 1776, found that the question of independence was one which they were imperiously called upon to meet and decide. The progress of the contest during the year had only served to widen the breach between the colonies and the mother country, and to render a reunion impossible; and from all parts of the country indications were coming to them that public sentiment was rapidly concentrating itself in favor of entire and final separation. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, Richard

Henry Lee, a very prominent member from Virginia, brought forward a resolution, declaring that it was expedient to proclaim the American colonies free and independent states.

The question was made a prominent topic of discussion in Congress for some weeks, during which time also the members held free communication on the subject with their constituents in all parts of the country, so as to ascertain the deliberate and final judgment of the people on the question at issue, and at length, on the 2d of July, 1776, the resolution was passed by an almost unanimous vote.

COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION.

When Mr. Lee first brought forward the resolution, many of the members were strenuously opposed to it. They thought that by taking such a step, the colonies would alienate from their cause all their friends in England, "who," said they, "if we only remain loyal to the king, and demand simply a redress of our grievances, will sooner or later gain the ascendancy in the government at home and do us justice." On the other hand, any attempt to sunder the connection of the colonies with the mother country altogether, would have the effect, they maintained, of uniting the people of Great Britain against them, and they could not hope to

contend alone against the consolidated power of so mighty an empire.

It was replied to this that although alone the colonies could not, perhaps, hope to cope successfully against the power of Great Britain, yet by declaring themselves independent they would be sure to obtain help from other nations, especially from France and Spain; for they were the natural enemies of England, were extremely jealous of her greatness and power, and would rejoice to assist in sundering her American colonies from her.

There had been, in fact, some negotiations with the French during the year, the result of which confirmed these opinions, for the government had expressed a willingness to give the colonies secret aid, but until the Americans should declare their independence of the mother country, and thus make the quarrel an irreconcilable one, the French were not willing to do anything openly.

The advocates of independence argued consequently that by adopting that measure they could depend upon efficient foreign aid, while in contending for a mere redress of grievances, they would have to fight their battles alone; and that consequently it would be actually easier for them to accomplish their end by taking the highest stand at once, than to aim only at the lower one.

The final decision of the question, however, as is usual in the deliberations of a congress, was not controlled so much by the arguments offered in the debates as by the indications of public sentiment coming in to the members, in various ways, from the public at large. These indications were in this instance so unmistakable, that in the end the resolution was passed, on the second of July, by a vote almost unanimous.

THE DECLARATION.

The two following days were spent by congress in discussing the terms of the great declaration by which the decision to which the community, through their action, had come, was to be announced to the world. A committee had been appointed, some time previous, to make a draft of such a declaration, in order that it might be ready. Thomas Jefferson, who afterward became so prominent a personage in American history, was the chairman of this committee, and made the draft. This, after a few verbal alterations had been made by the committee, was now reported to congress, and was subjected to a very close and careful scrutiny.

Many alterations and amendments were made to it, and it is now very curious to compare the original draft with the form finally adopted, since the

nature of the changes made show very strikingly the calmness and deliberation with which the members acted in this momentous crisis, and the extreme caution and moderation which characterized their proceedings.

NATURE OF THE CORRECTIONS MADE.

In the corrections which were made we notice two things that are quite striking,—first, a disposition to expunge everything marked by the least appearance of exaggeration in the statements made, or that in any sense represented the conduct of the king of Great Britain toward the colonies as worse than it really had been. For instance, from the clause in the original draft, "He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly *and continually*," the last two words were stricken out. In another place, the words, "He has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these states, refusing his assent," &c., were softened into "He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing," &c.; and in another place, the declaration, "He has abdicated government here, withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection," was changed into the more moderate and cautious one, "He has abdicated government here, declaring us out of his protec-

tion." In this way everything in the least degree exaggerated or unguarded was struck out, so that there should be nothing left in any of the statements which the declaration contained that was not clearly and indisputably true.

Another striking peculiarity which is to be observed in the changes made, is the expunging of all passages which partook of the nature of declamation or rhetorical flourishing, or appeared to be expressions of excited feeling, such, for example, as passages like the following:

"At this very time, too, they" (the people of England,) "are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but foreign mercenaries, to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren."

And this:

"We might have been a free and great people together; but a communication of grandeur and freedom, it seems, is beneath their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation."

These and several other clauses conceived in the

same style, were omitted, and the simple statement retained, in respect to the people of England:

"They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; we must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends."

In a word, the general object which the congress had in view in the modifications which they made in the first draft of the instrument, was to expunge from it everything that was exaggerated, unguarded or declamatory in its character, and to send forth to the world only a calm and simple enunciation of facts, and a quiet, though decided and unmistakable statement of the determination to which the colonies had arrived: namely, to take and to maintain henceforth, among the nations of the earth, an independent position.

The Declaration thus amended was adopted by congress by an unanimous vote on the 4th of July.

EXPECTED ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The sessions of congress at this time were with closed doors so that no portion of the public were able to winness the proceedings. The general pro-

gress however, which the body was making in respect to this measure was known without, and there was a wide spread expectation on the morning of the 4th of July, that the business would be concluded on that day. A large concourse of people accordingly assembled in the morning, when congress convened, and remained hour after hour in front of the state-house where the meetings were held, waiting somewhat impatiently for the announcement to come forth that independence had been declared, and prepared to welcome the intelligence with long and loud acclamations. The venerable old bell-man took his place in the belfry to communicate the news to the town by ringing the bell, the moment the signal should be given; and a boy was stationed below to call out to him when he should receive intelligence from the door-keeper, that the time had arrived.

THE LIBERTY BELL.

The bell that was hung in the cupola of the state-house where congress were sitting is somewhat famous in American history, and is considered one of the most interesting relics of the revolution, though now cracked, and no longer serviceable. The curious thing about it is that though cast many years before, it had a motto upon it, which was ex-

tremely appropriate to this special occassion. It was customary in those days to cut in the mould from which a bell was to be cast some motto, frequently for church bells a passage of Scripture, which motto would of course appear, when the bell was finished, in raised letters around the bell near the top.

The motto of this bell was

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

THE PROCLAMATION MADE.

The poor bell-ringer, after waiting a long time in vain, became impatient of the delay, and he called out despondingly to the people below in the street "They never will do it! They never will do it!" At length, however, the boy at the door received the proper notice, and he ran out clapping his hands and shouting to the bell-man above, "Ring! Ring!"

The bell-man immediately began to ring by swinging the ponderous tongue, by means of a rope attached to it, and striking it with all its force against the side of the bell. The people below responded with shouts and acclamations. The bell was very large, being about four feet in diameter at the margin, and it sent the welcome tidings of

liberty throughout the city in tones loud and clear. Very soon the discharges of artillery began to be heard, and during all the remainder of the day and night the town was given up to the wildest rejoicings.

The tidings were immediately dispatched by couriers and postmen in all directions throughout the land, and they were received everywhere with unbounded joy. The declaration was read at the heads of the regiments in the army, at the doors of the churches in the country villages, at vast public assemblies in the towns, and was everywhere welcomed with cheers, salvos of artillery, and mutual congratulations offered from man to man; while many banquets, and evening bonfires and illuminations were planned and carried enthusiastically into effect, to give expression to the universal joy.

The several colonies immediately took the necessary steps for forming independent state governments, by which the last remaining threads of British authority pervading the community were all effectually cut off. The necessary changes in the forms of public business, and in official phraseology were made, and everything in a word was brought into harmony with the new position which the country had assumed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONTEST AT NEW YORK.

GOVERNOR TRYON.

THE governor of New York at this time, was William Tryon. He had previously been the royal governor of North Carolina for several years, where he had rendered himself extremely unpopular by his proud, haughty, and domineering behavior, and by the unfeeling severity and even cruelty with which he treated those who incurred the displeasure of the government. He was transferred to New York in 1771, by the British ministry, being deemed a suitable man to carry out with a strong hand in that province the policy of stern and determined severity, by which the rising spirit of disaffection was to be put down.

STATE OF OPINION IN NEW YORK.

For some reason or other the British, or, as it was then called, the tory influence, was much stronger in New York than in most of the other Atlantic cities. This may have been owing in part

to the fact, that the city, having been first settled by the Dutch, and subsequently taken and held by the British, and having afterwards become a rendezvous of adventurers from various parts of the world, was now occupied by a very heterogeneous population. From its central position, too, it had been, more than any other place, the headquarters of the British forces and the chief naval station; and the town, moreover, contained a great number of naval and military officers, and of civil functionaries of various kinds, who, with the large circle of aristocratic friends which such a class of persons always draw around them, would naturally be conservative, as they called it, that is, in favor of sustaining any existing power.

These persons and those who sympathised with them, managed to gain so great an ascendancy, both in social life, in the city, and also in the provincial assembly, being aided, too, by the powerful influence of the government, that they were enabled for a long time almost entirely to thwart the desires of the mass of the people to coöperate with and aid the other colonies.

UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE.

The governor and his friends succeeded in this policy mainly through the legislative assembly of

the colony, which they contrived to keep more or less under their own control; but at length, soon after the news of the battle of Lexington arrived at New York, the people began to adopt vigorous measures for taking the affairs of the colony into their own hands. One of their first steps was to elect members to a provincial assembly, by which the old colonial assembly was very soon superseded. They also appointed, with reference to the management of affairs in the city itself, a committee, consisting of one hundred of the principal citizens, and called it the Committee of Safety. This committee, and those acting in conjunction with it, immediately proceeded to adopt very decided measures. They took possession of the public magazines and arsenals, and distributed the arms and the ammunition which they found there, among the people. They forbade the sailing of various vessels, which the authorities had loaded with provisions to send to General Gage for the use of his troops in Boston. They arrested and imprisoned several of the tory merchants, who were charged with furnishing the provisions to the government, and finally, with the assistance of some troops which came from Connecticut to aid them, they seized a considerable quantity of arms and munitions of war, belonging

to the British army, and sent them to Washington's army at Cambridge.

KING SEARS.

One of the principal leaders in these movements, was a very bold and resolute man named Sears, who, in consequence of the great ascendancy which he soon acquired over his compatriots, received the name of King Sears. He was a very energetic and courageous man; and some of the exploits which he and his adherents and followers performed, though they were accomplished by bodies of men very imperfectly organized, were effected with almost military coolness and precision.

REMOVAL OF THE CANNON FROM THE BATTERY.

One of the most noted of these exploits was, the seizing and removal into the interior of a large number of cannon from the fort and battery. The affair took place late in the summer of 1775. There was a fort, and a battery connected with it, on the point of land which forms the lower end of the city, which had been constructed there for the defence of the harbor. These works contained twenty or thirty large guns, and when it became evident to the people of New York, that open war must soon break out there, as it had already done in Massa-

chusetts, the committee of one hundred ordered a certain military company, which was under the command of Captain Lamb, to go and take these cannon, and remove them to a place of security in the interior. Captain Lamb asked for the coöperation of King Sears, and he assembled a large body of the people to go and assist in the work. The time appointed for the assembling of the men was nine o'clock in the evening. The day was the 23d of August.

It had been intended to keep the movement secret, but in some way or other the captain of the Asia, a British man-of-war, lying in the harbor, obtained some information respecting it, or at least had some reason to suspect what was going on, and he accordingly ordered an officer to proceed in a boat, with a small number of marines* toward the shore, near the battery, and reconnoitre.

When at length these men in the boat saw the company of soldiers, attended by the great crowd of followers, who came to aid them, appear and commence their operations at the fort, some one of

* Marines are sea soldiers. There are a certain number of them always on board a man-of-war, to be ready for exigencies of this kind, and also to coöperate in combats at sea. They are armed with muskets. The guns of the ship are worked by the *sailors*.

them fired upon them. The company of soldiers on the shore immediately returned this shot by a volley, the effect of which was, that a number of the marines and boatmen were killed and others were wounded. The rest made their way back with all speed to the ship, and the captain of the ship immediately opened fire upon the town, first with two or three single discharges, and afterwards with a broadside.

The whole town was instantly thrown into a state of great excitement and alarm. The man-of-war was firing upon the town, no one knew why, or with what design. The bells were rung, drums beat to arms, shouts and outcries were heard on all sides, and everything was tumult and confusion. People believed that the town was to be destroyed, and they rushed into the streets, bringing their choicest valuables with them in hopes to save some portion of their property, or hurrying onward their wives and children, in order to rescue them from the impending danger.

During all this time, the party at the battery went on steadily with their work. They took possession of the guns and removed them to a safe place in the interior, where they were subsequently of no little service in the operations of the colonial army.

SEIZURE OF THE CANNON.

FLIGHT OF THE GOVERNOR.

The firing upon the town from the man-of-war soon ceased, and the people gradually recovered from their terror, and returned to their homes. No lives were destroyed by the cannonading, but many buildings were injured; and the excitement was so great on the following day, and it continued so to increase, that at length Governor Tryon, fearing new outbreaks, and perhaps apprehending an attack upon himself, personally, left the town, and sought refuge on board one of the ships in the harbor.

He attempted for some time to carry on his government from on board this ship, and he kept up an active correspondence with the leading men of influence in the city, who still adhered to the government, in hopes of concerting some measures with them for recovering the control. But any plans which they may have formed failed of being carried into effect, while in the meantime Mr. Sears wrote to General Washington at Cambridge, urging him to send a force and take military possession of the town.

THE TOWN OCCUPIED BY AMERICAN TROOPS.

Washington could not at that time spare any of

the troops around Boston, but a plan was soon arranged, under authority from him, for raising a body of troops in Connecticut for this purpose. This plan was soon carried into effect. Governor Trumbull, the governor of Connecticut at that time, entered earnestly into the work, and through his coöperation, and by the vigorous and efficient exertions of Mr. Sears, a body of twelve hundred men was raised and equipped in Connecticut, and put under the command of General Charles Lee. Mr. Sears was made the adjutant-general. These arrangements having been effected, the force commenced its march for New York.

The people of New York were very much alarmed when they found that this force was approaching, from fear that the ships-of-war in the harbor would open fire upon the town and destroy it, rather than allow it to be formally occupied by a military force of the rebels. The committee of one hundred sent out a deputation to General Lee to protest against his coming, saying that Captain Parker of the Asia had threatened, that if the people allowed the rebel troops to enter the city, he would burn it down.

General Lee paid no attention to this remonstrance, but continued his march until he reached the immediate environs of the town, and then encamped his troops in what was then called the

Fields, but which now is the site of the City Hall Park. He himself went on with his staff into the town, and established his headquarters at the lower end of Broadway. He immediately made a public proclamation, that if the ships in the harbor should be quiet, he would remain so, but that, if they attempted to carry their threat of burning the town into execution, he would seize a hundred of the leading tories in the place, and chain them together by the neck, and make the first house set on fire by the guns of the ships their funeral pile.

The tories and Captain Parker knew very well that if the bombardment were to be commenced, the excitement and exasperation of the people would be such that General Lee would be fully sustained by them in keeping his word; and the troops were accordingly allowed to remain in peaceable possession.

LORD STIRLING.

The second in command—under General Lee—was Lord Stirling, as he was generally called. It may seem strange to the reader that any person invested with such a title should be on the side of the colonies in this struggle. The truth was, Lord Stirling was not an Englishman, but a native of New York, though he had resided for most of his

life in New Jersey. His real name was William Alexander. He was of Scotch descent, and he claimed at length, on the decease of certain persons in Scotland, the inheritance of the title and estates pertaining to a Scotch earldom. His claim was disallowed by the English tribunals, but the Americans, believing that he was justly entitled to the succession, gave him the title from courtesy.

THE AMERICANS FORTIFY THE APPROACHES TO NEW YORK.

Almost immediately after General Lee arrived in New York, and took possession of the town, Sir Henry Clinton entered the bay with a squadron, containing a considerable detachment of troops from Boston. General Washington knew of the departure of this expedition, and feared that the destination of it was New York; and that had been one reason why he had so readily entered into the plan of taking military possession of the town by means of troops raised in Connecticut. General Lee and Lord Stirling now immediately began to adopt vigorous measures for defending the approaches to the town by water, in order to prevent the ships coming up. The squadron did not, however, attempt to pass the Narrows, but after a brief delay in the outer harbor, put to sea again and sailed to the southward. General Lee at once set out to follow

them down the coast, with the intention of raising a force and preparing to meet them wherever they might attempt to land.

He left the forces in New York under the command of Lord Stirling, who devoted himself at once, and very vigorously, to the work of completing the fortifications of the harbor. He sent a large body of men one night to Governor's Island, to construct a redoubt; and another body to a point lower down formed by the westerly termination of Long Island.*

In the same manner various other commanding points along the shores were secured, and forts, redoubts and batteries constructed upon them, to compel the withdrawal of the ships already before the town, and to prevent the entrance of others.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Things remained substantially in this condition until the time of the evacuation of Boston by the troops under Sir William Howe, on the 19th of March, 1776, as narrated in a previous chapter. General Washington supposed that Howe would immediately proceed to New York, and he accord-

* The situation of the westerly end of Long Island in relation to the entrance to New York harbor will be seen by the map at the commencement of Chapter II.

ingly set off at once with all the troops that he could take with him, in order to anticipate Sir William's arrival, and if possible prevent his landing.

The urgency of this haste proved however not to be necessary, for it was nearly three months after the evacuation of Boston before the arrival of the British force in New York.

This interval was spent by Washington in strengthening the fortifications in and around New York, in conferring with the Continental congress in Philadelphia, and in enlisting and assembling troops, and completing the organization of his army.

PLANS AND ARRANGEMENTS OF SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

The occasion of the delay was that Sir William Howe, instead of coming directly to New York from Boston, had proceeded in the first instance to Halifax. He had two objects in view in doing this. One was to dispose of the refugee families from Boston, who, it will be recollected, fled in great numbers on board his ships and the transports that accompanied them, when he evacuated the town, where they embarrassed his operations very much, and made it necessary that before attempting anything else, he should make some disposal of them

The other object was to await reinforcements from England, and to organize an expedition anew, on a scale of magnitude sufficient to ensure success in his operations against New York. The accomplishment of both these purposes occupied him until near the end of May.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

In the meantime while these events had been occurring in America, the British government, when they found how general and how serious the resistance in America was becoming, and how large a force they were likely to require for the subduing of it, began to be seriously embarrassed for want of men. It has always been somewhat difficult for the British aristocracy, in their government of the empire, to obtain a sufficient number of native troops for all their purposes. The population of the island is not large in proportion to the immense extent of the empire, and so great is the force that is required for so many different and distant operations continually going on, for all the towns and forts that are to be garrisoned, and the losses from disease or from the casualties of the service, which are to be made up, together with the large surplus required on account of the numbers that are all the time waiting in depots, or being conveyed in trans-

ports to and fro for vast distances, that it has always been a matter of difficulty to obtain a sufficient number of recruits—a difficulty which is of course greatly increased when, as in the case of a great revolt, there arises a large and unusual demand.

There was another difficulty which the government apprehended, and that was that if they were to raise an army for subduing the colonies, from among the people of England, the men, when they arrived in America and found themselves called upon to fight against their fellow countrymen, whose only crime consisted in claiming for themselves the same rights and privileges which they had always understood were the indefeasible inheritance of every freeborn Englishman, might refuse to engage in such a contest, and even go over in large bodies to the enemy, and make common cause with them, with a view perhaps of settling finally in the new country themselves, and receiving grants of land for their future homes in reward for their services. It was plain that the American government might easily lay this temptation before them, and there was great danger, the government supposed, that many of them might yield to it. They thought it not safe therefore to rely entirely on English soldiers.

THE HESSIANS.

In this difficulty the government conceived of the idea of engaging certain German princes to furnish them with bodies of troops from their standing armies, for a consideration in money to be paid to the princes.

Among all the acts of injustice and oppression to which the toiling millions have been subjected, in this world, during the last three thousand years, under the despotism of men claiming to reign over them by divine right, it would be difficult to find anything more atrocious than such a bargain as this. That the able-bodied portion of any people should be compelled by the state, or by the prince ruling over it, to arm themselves and risk their lives in military operations necessary to defend the country against an invasion from abroad, or from a causeless insurrection and rebellion at home, we can understand. That they should even be compelled to go beyond the frontier to wage war against a neighboring state, though very hard, may have some plea of justification, when any vital interests of their own land are, or are fancied to be, involved. But that a prince claiming to hold power over his fellow men by authority from God, should tear away thousands of them from their families and

homes, and send them four thousand miles away, to perish from toil, and exposure, and sickness, or to die miserably upon a battle-field, in a quarrel in which neither they nor their country have any interest whatever, merely to put money in their divinely appointed owner's pockets, is so glaringly irreconcilable with all ideas of natural justice, that it seems incredible that such a transaction could have taken place between two of the most Christian and most civilized nations of Europe, and that too, within a hundred years of the present time.

It must be admitted that the proposal, when made, was most earnestly denounced and condemned by many persons in the British parliament. It was however carried by the votes of the majority. The proposition was made to the German princes and accepted by them. The largest proportion of the troops furnished were from two principalities called Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt, and from this circumstance the whole body came to be called Hessians. The whole number of German mercenaries thus procured amounted to about eighteen thousand men. They were brought across the ocean by a fleet of transports under convoy of a squadron of men-of-war commanded by Admiral Lord Howe, who was General Sir William Howe's brother. We shall henceforth distinguish these

two personages, one a military and the other a naval officer, and who each acted a prominent part in the history of the revolution, as General Howe and Admiral Howe.

General Howe arrived in New York Bay from Halifax, with his Boston troops and the reinforcements which he had obtained at Halifax, at the end of June. He spent a week in reconnoitering, conferring with Governor Tryon, and forming his plans, and then advanced cautiously up the Narrows—the passage leading from the bay to the harbor—and landed his troops upon Staten Island, which forms the western shore of the Narrows—the end of Long Island bounding it on the eastern side.

EXCITEMENT PRODUCED IN AND AROUND THE CITY.

Of course the arrival of these immense fleets and armies in the harbor, and the approach of the terrific conflict which they announced, produced a universal commotion. The tories were secretly exultant, while the timid Americans were ready to despair. Great numbers of families immediately began to pack up their goods and to prepare for flight. Troops came pouring in from the surrounding country, and all was excitement and commotion.

THE MASS OF THE POPULATION STAND FIRM.

There were, however, no signs of faltering among the great mass of the population. It was just at that time, as it happened, that the news of the declaration of independence made by the Continental congress at Philadelphia arrived, and it awakened universal enthusiasm and rejoicing. Copies of the declaration itself were received during the interval between the arrival of General Howe from Halifax and that of Admiral Howe from England. General Washington caused the document to be read to the various portions of his army, drawn up in hollow squares for the purpose, near their several places of encampment. He himself was present at one of these readings, which took place at the Fields, or the Common, as the place was then sometimes called. It is now the City Hall Park.

A few days afterward, a mass meeting of the citizens was held at a public place near what was then the centre of the town, to hear the declaration read. It was received by both the soldiers and citizens with enthusiastic acclamations.

ALL TOKENS AND SYMBOLS OF BRITISH AUTHORITY REMOVED.

The people, immediately after receiving the declaration of independence, proceeded to remove

all the tokens and symbols of British authority from among them—an authority now forever at an end. They took down the British arms from the court room, and from the fronts of several public buildings, and destroyed them. They brought out a picture of the king, which hung in the council chamber, and burnt it in the street.

These were, however, all riotous proceedings—the work of unauthorized persons, and wholly unjustifiable. Such objects should have been removed by the order of the proper authorities, in a deliberate and peaceable manner, and carefully preserved, as valuable historical relics, and memorials of times passing away, never more to return.

THE LEADEN STATUE OF KING GEORGE.

There was one of the acts, however, of this class that was perpetrated by the populace at this time, which, though irregular and unjustifiable in the manner of its performance, had the excuse of a useful end accomplished to justify it. This act was the taking down of a large equestrian statue of George the Third, which stood in the Bowling Green, at the lower end of Broadway, near the Battery. The statue was to the eye of the observer a golden one, the surface being gilded. But it was

really made of lead, and as it was very large, it occurred at once to the patriots, that since the authority of the monarch himself was overthrown, the emlem and image which represented that authority might easily be dispensed with too, and that it would be a good plan to utilize the material of which the statue was composed, by casting it into bullets. The statue was accordingly taken down by a party of citizens and soldiers, in the presence of a large concourse of people, and after being broken to pieces, the separate portions were melted down and converted into ammunition. The statue was so large that the number of bullets cast from it amounted to over forty thousand.

When these bullets came to be used, the British troops, as some one said at the time, had melted majesty fired at them.

However gratifying to the sentiment of poetical justice it may be, that the soldiers sent by a king to reduce his people under his despotic control should have the symbols of their master's former majesty and grandeur, now forfeited and fallen, converted into missiles, and hurled at them in defiance, the proceedings on this occasion were riotous and lawless, and so, wholly unjustifiable. Washington disapproved of them, and having heard that some of the soldiers were engaged in this work, he issued

orders strictly prohibiting the men under his command from taking part in any such proceedings in time to come.

FIRST MOVEMENT OF THE SHIPS.

After the troops were landed, and while they were recovering from the fatigue and the privations of the voyage, and the work of making the various changes and reorganizations necessary to prepare them for the new work before them was completed, it was decided to move two of the ships up past the town, and station them in the Hudson river, a few miles above, in order that they might be ready there to coöperate with an expedition which it was expected would soon come down from Canada, by way of Lake Champlain. For as soon as the expedition of Arnold and Montgomery, for the conquest of Canada, as related in the last chapter, had failed, a counter enterprise began to be contemplated in Canada, for sending down a force by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson river, to meet British troops to be sent up from New York; thus cutting off New England from all the southern states, and dividing the colonial territory in two.

The two vessels selected for this purpose were named the Rose and the Phœnix. There was some danger in the attempt to send these vessels up, as

they would have to pass several batteries which the Americans had erected on the shores. To guard against the shots of these batteries, the decks of the ships were protected with sand bags, and by this means, and by the celerity of their motion, they succeeded in getting by with very little damage.

Besides the hope of hearing of the approach of the Canada expedition from above, and of being able to coöperate with it, there was another motive for this advance. The commanders of the ships were provided with proclamations from the king, and offers of pardon, on submission, to be distributed to the people on the shores of the river, and also with arms, to distribute to such of the population, if they should find any such, as were disposed to join the British army.

The ships came to anchor in Haverstraw Bay, a sheet of water several miles in breadth, formed by the widening of the river. In the middle of this bay they were safe themselves from any missiles which could be sent to them from the shore, but the plan failed entirely in respect to the accomplishment of either of the objects for which the ships were sent,—for the expedition from Canada never came down, and the officers found it impossible to communicate with the people on the shores of the river, for the Americans vigilantly guarded

the banks, and would not allow any boats to land.

Thus the object of the movement failed, but the ships remained above the town.

ADVANCE OF THE TROOPS UPON NEW YORK.

In the mean time active preparations were made in the camp at Staten Island for organizing a force to advance upon New York. The troops could not be taken directly up the harbor to be landed at the town, on account of the batteries which had been constructed to command the approaches; for though two ships of war, carefully protected and kept well over to the opposite shore, might run by these batteries with comparatively little hazard, a fleet of transports—the decks crowded with men—would be exposed to certain destruction, both while passing the batteries, and still more afterward, on approaching the shore, and while attempting to land. It was accordingly determined to land the men on Long Island, below all the batteries, and out of their reach, with a view of enabling them to approach the city by advancing over land, in a line, in order of battle, prepared for a combat on equal terms wherever the enemy might be encountered.

The day on which the landing of the troops commenced was the 22d of August, 1776.

SCENE AT THE LANDING.

By referring to the map at the commencement of the second chapter, the reader will see, though on a very small scale, the entrance to New York harbor, between Staten Island, the small island seen on the western side, and the end of Long Island, on the eastern side, with a dotted line showing the general course of the British army in its advance across the end of Long Island to the town. Of course the southern end of the dotted line shows the place of the landing. Several thousand men were brought across from Staten Island in boats, a very large number having been provided for the purpose. Other thousands were landed from ships and transports. Several men-of-war were stationed near the spot to protect the landing of the troops, by keeping the Americans back, with their guns, if any should appear—for the range of these guns of course extended for a mile or more over the land.

So great was the multitude of men to be moved, and so slow is the process of conveying such numbers with the limited provision of boats it is possible to manœuvre in the comparatively narrow space which can be occupied, and so many delays are occasioned by the numerous precautions re

quired, that in this case it was not until the end of three days that the operation was completed. The spectacle was a very imposing one, but there were none but themselves to witness it. A small body of American troops had been stationed on the land near the spot, when the ships approached, but they could do nothing, and were forced to retire. The news, however, of course, spread rapidly to New York and through all the surrounding country, and produced universal excitement and alarm.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE COMBAT.

General Washington, who, of course, had not known certainly before by what route the enemy would attempt his advance upon the city, now moved all his available forces across the East River, and massed them at the most convenient points on Long Island, for meeting and opposing the invasion. His troops took possession of the roads and the passes among the hills, and threw up redoubts upon commanding positions, and brought up cannon and supplies of ammunition, and made all other possible preparations for the battle.

The British army, in taking the field after the landing, extended itself in detachments upon a line some miles in length, in order that the several bodies of troops might move forward simultaneously along

the different roads, and thus, as it were, present a broad front as they advanced. The disposition of the American troops was similar. Thus marshalled, the two armies drew gradually nearer toward each other.

DEFEAT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

The grand collision took place on the 27th of August, in a series of skirmishes and battles along the whole line. The Americans were everywhere defeated and driven from the ground. To give in full the details of all the movements and manœuvres, and of the varying fortunes of the day in different parts of the field, would be a long and painful narrative. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that when night came, General Washington and his brothers in command found that so many of their strong positions had been carried, and so heavy were the losses which they had sustained, that it would be useless for them to renew the struggle on the following day, and that the only hope was of saving what remained of the army by retreating across the East River to New York, and abandoning the whole of Long Island to the enemy.

THE GREAT FOG.

If the British officers had known how much the

American army had suffered during the day, they would probably have given the leaders no time to consider this question, but would have pressed on upon their whole line by the earliest light of the following morning. But fortunately they did not know, and they were prevented the next day from ascertaining precisely what the state of things was, by a very dense fog which rose from the surrounding waters and enveloped the whole country with so impenetrable a veil that nothing could be seen, and no reconnoissances could be made. It was only in consequence of this fog, as it would seem, that the army was saved; and the Americans devoutly attributed the rising of it to the special interposition of divine providence.

COUNCIL OF WAR.

The American officers took advantage of the armistice which the fog and the exhaustion of the British troops, as well as their ignorance of the state of the American army, occasioned, to rest and recruit their men, and to reassemble and rearrange their regiments, scattered and broken by the destructive conflicts of the day before, and also to remove the wounded. While the subordinate officers attended to these duties, the general officers held a council of war, and were unanimously of

opinion, that it would not be prudent to hazard another battle, but that they must retreat immediately across the East River to the New York side. There they might hope to make a stand, and aided by the rapid current of the stream, and by the forts and batteries which they held on the north shore, commanding the ferries and the landings, prevent the enemy from crossing.

This movement they knew very well, if it was to be executed at all, would require to be carried out with the greatest promptness and despatch, and at the same time, with the utmost secrecy. They determined to undertake it the following night.

RETREAT OF THE ARMY ACROSS THE RIVER.

They, accordingly, maintained during the day as great an appearance of force as possible along their lines, keeping all the regiments in their places except one. This one was a regiment which came from Marblehead, and which consisted of men enlisted there and in other towns along the coast in that vicinity, and who were all perfectly familiar with everything pertaining to boats and the water. These men were divided into small parties and sent down to the river, with orders to search the shores on both sides, and collect all the boats that could be procured, and bring them to certain landings.

There they were to wait until night, having each boat properly manned with oarsmen, ready to take the companies of soldiers on board as fast as they should arrive, and row them promptly over.

The Marblehead men did their work well. They collected a large number of boats and held them in readiness. When night came, the men in the camps were all called out and paraded, though, so well had the secret been kept, that no one knew what was going to be done. The several corps were marched down by different roads to the shore, embarked promptly on board the boats, and rowed over.

All this time the camp fires were kept burning, and the pickets regularly on guard at their advanced stations toward the British lines; but when the rest had gone, these men were quietly drawn in and conducted down to the boats; and so secretly had the whole operation been conducted, that none of the British sentinels or watchmen observed anything extraordinary until every man had gone.

FRUITLESS PURSUIT OF THE BRITISH.

As soon as the discovery was made, the intelligence was communicated to the commander-in-chief. This was about half past four in the morning. The drums immediately beat to arms, and large bodies

of troops were immediately put in motion in pursuit of the fugitives. A troop of horsemen was called out and sent forward with all speed, in hopes to intercept at least some part of the retreating army, but they were too late. As they came galloping down the steep descent which led to the Brooklyn shore, they saw the last boat-loads of Americans leaving the land, and before they reached the margin of the water, they were far beyond the range of pistol bullets—the only missiles with which horsemen are usually armed.

The American troops, as they landed on the New York side, did not seek shelter in the town itself, but moved on up the island, following the shore of the East River, so as to be at hand to dispute the passage of the river, if the enemy should attempt to come over, and when they came to a convenient position they encamped. All their movements were in full view of the advancing columns of the British army, on the high lands forming the Brooklyn shore.

ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH MEN-OF-WAR.

In evacuating Long Island the Americans were, of course, obliged to abandon the various redoubts and batteries which they had constructed at different points along the shore to prevent the advance of the

British ships. The British immediately took possession of these points, and Admiral Howe at once ordered his vessels up to the town. There were batteries on the New York side which interfered in some degree with these movements, but still the ships found it easy to advance up the harbor and to take positions greatly endangering the town. Of course the inhabitants were all in a state of extreme excitement and alarm.

ATTEMPT AT NEGOTIATION.

The British fleet and army having gained these immense advantages, and holding now, as they did, the city of New York entirely at their mercy, the commanders determined to pause and open negotiations, in hopes that the Americans would now see that they were overpowered, and would be willing to give up the contest, and spare the further effusion of blood. Admiral Howe, who had been especially instructed by the ministers before he left England, in respect to the terms that he might offer to the people of the colonies, sent a message to the Continental congress by one of the American generals who had been taken prisoners in the late battles, and whom he paroled for this purpose, proposing to them to appoint a committee to confer with him on the question of peace, and adding that he was em-

powered by the government to offer very advantageous terms.

This message was a verbal one. The English general would not make any communication in writing for that would have been, as it were, an official recognition of congress as a legitimate body, with which the British government could consistently negotiate; whereas a verbal message might be sent by a military commander to any organized body of men,—to a band of robbers, even, or to the leaders of a mob.

In accordance with this proposal, congress appointed a committee. The celebrated Benjamin Franklin was placed at the head of it. The conference was held at a private house on Staten Island, nearly opposite to Perth Amboy. The meeting was friendly, and Admiral Howe treated the committee with great consideration and courtesy, though he frankly informed them that he did not acknowledge them as having any official character at all, but considered them as private gentlemen, occupying such positions, however, as to give them great influence over their fellow-countrymen. Franklin replied to this, that it was wholly immaterial to them in what light his lordship considered them, but that they really were the official representatives of an independent and sovereign people. Lord

Howe replied that he was authorized to offer the people of the colonies very advantageous terms, on condition of their laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance. It was only on those conditions that he was at liberty to make any proposals. The committee replied that it was only on condition that the independence of the country was acknowledged that they were willing to *listen* to any proposals. So the conference was broken up, and nothing was left to either party but to proceed in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

DIFFICULTIES AND DISCOURAGEMENTS.

Whatever elements of disorder, or sources of discontent or difficulty may exist in any army, they are always greatly increased, and the evils resulting from them are much aggravated, by ill success; and Washington, when he reassembled his force, after the retreat from Long Island, began to find his situation a very discouraging one. His troops were greatly disorganized by the losses in the battle, and the confusion necessarily attendant on so hurried a retreat. Everybody was discontented and out of humor. The officers quarrelled with the men, and the men with the officers; and jealousies and bickerings sprung up between the soldiers of the different regiments, who, coming as they did

from different and distant parts of the country, entertained different ideas on many subjects, and were accustomed to different usages; and as is usual with people who have seen little of the world, were intolerant of everything that deviated from their own usual customs and habits of thought.

There were many serious questions, too, to be considered by the officers in command. Should New York be abandoned to the enemy, or should the army attempt to hold it? If abandoned, should it be left to form comfortable quarters during the coming winter for the British troops, or should it be destroyed?

THE BRITISH TAKE POSSESSION OF NEW YORK.

These deliberations, however, in respect to the city were soon cut short by the rapid advance of the British forces, and by the demoralized condition of the American army, which rendered it impossible to make any stand against the enemy. Admiral Howe brought up his ships, one after another, t higher and higher points, so as completely to com mand all the approaches, and also took possession of several islands in the East River, above the town. His brother, the general, soon after landed a force at a place called Kip's Bay, near these islands. There was a considerable American force there to

meet him, but they were panic-stricken on seeing the approach of the enemy, and fled from the field in disorder and dismay. Washington himself, who was some miles distant when the alarm was given, galloped to the spot and met the troops hurrying away, their officers vainly attempting to arrest and rally them.

Washington was so overwhelmed with shame for his soldiers at this disgraceful conduct, that for a moment, it is said, he was almost beside himself, and was ready to sink into utter despair. He threw his military hat upon the ground, and was setting off alone to charge the enemy in a fit of phrenzy, when the other officers near him seized the bridle of his horse and led him away.

The British troops, of course, made good their landing, and, as this was two or three miles above the town, the American troops that were lower down nearer the town, were in great danger of being surrounded. Orders were sent to them immediately to retreat up the island to Harlem, or across to the Jersey shore. They barely found time to make their escape. As it was, three hundred men were cut off and made prisoners, and several pieces of artillery, as well as a considerable quantity of provisions and military stores fell into the hands of the enemy.

The British troops soon afterwards entered the town in triumph, where they were received with great exultation and joy by the tory portion of the population, which was previously very large, and which, being now joined by all that floating and wavering class, so numerous in every great commercial city, that always adheres to the winning side, became overwhelming.

Having thus gained possession of the harbor and the town of New York, the British troops continued to hold them during the whole period of the war.

CHAPTER V.

CAMPAIGN IN THE JERSEYS.

THE TWO JERSEYS.

When the country between New York and Philadelphia began to be settled, or rather in an early period in the history of its settlement, about a hundred years before the revolutionary war, the territory now constituting the State of New Jersey, formed two distinct colonies of the kind called proprietary colonies—the land having been conveyed by separate grants to two different sets of proprietors, in two grand divisions, which were called East and West Jersey. The two together were often designated as the Jerseys.

The proprietary government continued for about twenty-five years, when it was at length abrogated. The two divisions were then united and became a royal colony, under the name of New Jersey. The old designation, however, still continued in use, and thus it happened, that when after the retreat of the Americans from New York, this territory became the scene, for some time, of the most important

military operations between the two armies, this portion of the struggle was known at the time, and has been generally designated since in American history, as the Campaign in the Jerseys.

In the course of the campaign, the American army were first driven from post to post across the whole State, from the Hudson to the Delaware. Then, turning upon their pursuers, they soon began to recover the ground, and in the end regained all that they had lost. The principal events of this celebrated retreat and return will form the subject of the present chapter.

THE ENVIRONS OF NEW YORK.

The reader will observe by a careful inspection of the map, that New York, as existing at that day, occupied the lower end of a long and narrow island, bounded on the west by the Hudson River, and on the south-east by a narrow channel, connecting Long Island Sound with the harbor, which, though really a strait, is called the East River; and on the north-east by a stream flowing from the Hudson into East River, where this last opens into the sound. This connecting stream is called Harlem River. It is very narrow, and navigable for only very small vessels.

POSITION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

When General Washington withdrew his forces from New York to avoid being hemmed in there by the British troops, he moved the troops up to the

upper part of the island, near the banks of the Harlem River. There was a strong and somewhat extensive fort, named Fort Washington, which had been built on very elevated land on the banks of the Hudson, in the upper part of the island, and

another fort opposite to it, named Fort Lee. These two forts were the most important strongholds now left in the hands of the Americans—all their redoubts and batteries below having been abandoned to the advancing British army. It was deemed exceedingly important to retain possession of these, on account of the degree of control which they afforded over the navigation of the river.

The American army accordingly, in withdrawing from New York, moved northwardly up the island and took positions on the elevated land in the vicinity of Fort Washington, and on the banks of the Harlem River.

FIRST MOVEMENT OF GENERAL HOWE.

The first movement made by General Howe, after establishing himself fully in New York, and stationing a sufficient number of troops there to hold the town, was to transport his whole remaining force along the East River and the sound beyond the American camps with a view of taking possession of the whole country there, and extending his lines across from the sound to the Hudson River, so as to cut off the retreat of the Americans in that direction, and eventually, as he hoped, to capture the whole force.

To carry this plan into effect, General Howe

caused a fleet of ninety large flat boats to be prepared, and embarking the principal portion of hi troops on board of them he caused them to be con veyed up the East River through Hell Gate and along the sound to a point nearly twenty miles from the city, and there landed. Other troops were conveyed thither in transports from the fleet, and a few days afterwards a large body of Hessians and other German troops that had just arrived from Europe, were landed near the same spot. This was the second portion of the contingent which the German princes had agreed to send. They were brought over in a fleet of over seventy vessels, and they formed an addition to the force under General Howe's command of over ten thousand men.

The numerous and very complicated operations connected with a military movement such as this, —the various preliminary arrangements required, the construction and organization of the fleet of boats, the providing and sending forward of the necessary supplies and the extreme precaution and circumspection necessary in every step taken, make the progress slow. It was at about the middle of September that the British took possession of New York, and it was toward the end of October—nearly six weeks later—before General Howe had effected

the landing of all his troops and supplies, and was ready to advance into the interior.

COUNTERACTIVE MOVEMENTS OF WASHINGTON.

In the meantime General Washington had by no means been inactive. As soon as General Howe commenced making preparations for his advance, Washington began to move his forces to the northward, in order to thwart his plans, and if he should fail in opposing his landing at least to prevent his advancing into the interior.

The land between the sound and the Hudson River, though elevated on each side, along the water, is depressed in the middle, forming a valley through which the river Bronx, flows as may be seen by the map. Washington after vainly attempting to prevent Howe from landing and massing his troops, withdrew across the valley to the western side of the Bronx, while Howe remained on the eastern side, beginning at the same time to advance slowly to the northward, in order if possible to get round to the head of Washington's army and intercept his progress.

In order to counteract this movement Washington moved to the northward too, on the western side of the Bronx. These movements, attended by many manœuvres and frequent skirmishes which

cannot be here particularly detailed, occupied more than a week, until at length both armies reached the vicinity of the town of White Plains.

THE BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS.

Here the American army made a stand and intrenched themselves in a commanding position, where they were attacked by General Howe on the 28th of October, and a battle ensued known in history as the battle of White Plains.

The battle was without any very decided result, as the Americans in the main held their ground. After a pause however of a few days to wait for certain reinforcements that he was expecting, General Howe made preparations for attacking the American works and carrying them by storm. But on the appointed day a terrible tempest of wind and rain arose, which made it necessary to postpone the attack. Washington took advantage of this delay to escape from the danger which threatened him. In the middle of the second night, just as the storm was beginning to abate, he abandoned his position and moved secretly with all his force to some higher ground farther to the northward, where he intrenched himself as strongly as possible.

This was a narrow escape for the works at

White Plains, though they were made to look formidable as seen by the enemy, were really not much more than a pretence. The ramparts were built chiefly of bundles of cornstalks and straw borrowed from the farmers' barns, and only faced with a thin covering of sods toward the enemy to give them an imposing appearance. They would have easily been knocked to pieces by General Howe's cannon the moment it should be brought to bear upon them.

GENERAL HOWE RETURNS TO THE SOUTHWARD.

General Howe, finding that Washington's new position was so strong as to make it inexpedient for him to attack it, gave up the plan of following the Americans any farther into the interior, and immediately began to move to the southward again, toward Fort Washington, which still remained in the hands of the Americans—and was held by a garrison of several thousand men. It was very important to the British to reduce this place, since being directly on the bank of the river, and high above it, its guns had free range over the whole navigable portion of the water, and greatly impeded the motions of the British ships in passing up and down.

RETREAT OF WASHINGTON ACROSS THE HUDSON.

Washington finding that Howe declined to follow him any further to the northward and eastward, and was returning toward the Hudson River, at the point most proper for crossing into New Jersey, concluded that his intention was to move on in that direction, with a view of taking Philadelphia. He accordingly called a council of war, and it was unanimously determined to withdraw with the main body of the army into New Jersey, so as to oppose the progress of the British in that direction.

To effect this movement required some time, on account of the long marches necessary to find crossing places where there was no danger from the British ships, and the delays in procuring a sufficient number of boats. It was, however, at length accomplished, and by the 12th of November the main body were safely over. Two large detachments were, however, left behind—of several thousand men each. One of these bodies of troops was left under the command of General Heath, to hold the Highlands on the Hudson River, and the other, under General Lee, remained near White Plains, to guard the country to the eastward, and prevent any advance of the enemy in that direction.

CAPTURE OF FORT WASHINGTON.

General Howe now at once proceeded to make the necessary dispositions for attacking Fort Washington and the various redoubts, batteries, and other outposts connected with it. He moved large bodies of troops into the vicinity of it. He erected redoubts and mounted cannon on the eminences near, and his brother brought up ships-of-war to coöperate with him from the river. When all was ready, he sent in a summons to the commander of the fort to surrender. The commander refused to do so. General Howe then commenced his advance, attacking the works simultaneously on all sides. After a long and severe contest, with varying success in different places at different times, the British were on the whole so far victorious, that they carried all the outposts, took many prisoners, and drove the remaining portion of the American force within the ramparts of the fort itself.

General Howe then sent in another summons to surrender; and the commander of the fort finding that further resistance would be of no avail, decided to yield. The fort was given up, and what remained of the garrison—two thousand men in all—were taken down to New York, and held there in

jails and in other places of confinement as prisoners of war.

Washington, from the other side of the river watched the progress of this contest with his glass, and witnessed at last the proof of the surrender in the subsiding of the American flag and the rising of the British ensign in its place, with a degree of mental distress and anguish almost impossible to conceive.

EXTREMELY DISCOURAGING PROSPECT FOR THE AMERICAN CAUSE.

Indeed, the circumstances in which Washington now found himself placed, were in every respect extremely disheartening. His army had dwindled away so much by losses in battle, desertions, prisoners captured in Fort Washington, expirations of the terms of service, and by the considerable detachments that he had been compelled to leave behind him on the east side of the river, that he had only now about two thousand men with him in New Jersey to oppose the advance of his victorious enemy, and to protect Philadelphia and the Continental congress in session there. The terms of service of his remaining men were rapidly expiring, and the men were so dispirited that they would not reënlist. The officers, too, quarrelled among themselves, as

is usually the case with the leaders in any cause when things go wrong.

THE PEOPLE BECOMING DISCOURAGED.

Besides these difficulties connected with the army, strong indications began to appear that the people of the country were becoming discouraged. General Howe issued a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, and offering protection for persons and property to all who would come in and take the oath of allegiance to the king. Large numbers of people accepted these offers. For ten days they came in, it was said, at the rate of two hundred a day, to offer their submission. Among these were two or three men who had been prominent leaders in the American cause.

These people, however, gained very little by their hasty surrender. The soldiers of the army, and especially the Hessians, paid slight regard to the "protections" which they received, but ravaged the country and plundered the inhabitants as they advanced, with very little discrimination.

LORD CORNWALLIS.

General Howe was at first somewhat at a loss whether to follow Washington in his retreat toward Philadelphia or to proceed northwardly up the

river, in order to coöperate with General Burgoyne, who had organized a powerful expedition in Canada to come down by the way of Lake Champlain and the river Hudson to New York, with a view of thus cutting the territory occupied by the rebellious provinces in two He finally concluded not to cross the river himself, but to place another officer, Lord Cornwallis, in command of a sufficient force to dispose of Washington's army, and to send him instead, with orders to pursue, and either capture or disperse them, which both supposed would be an easy task.

Lord Cornwallis, accordingly, crossed the river. It was on the 20th of November. He had six thousand men under his command — a number deemed amply sufficient, since Washington had but little over two thousand left, and even this number was rapidly diminishing.

CAPTURE OF FORT LEE.

The Americans, as soon as they found so large a force coming to attack them, were compelled at once to commence their retreat. It was useless to attempt to hold Fort Lee, the fort on the west side of the river, opposite to Fort Washington, now that the latter had fallen, and the enemy had full command of the river. The place was accordingly abandoned in haste, and all the baggage and mili-

tary stores which it contained fell into the enemy's hands.

RETREAT ACROSS THE JERSEYS.

The army now commenced that slow and painful retreat across the country towards the Delaware River, which formed perhaps the gloomiest portion of the history of the war. The whole of the remaining part of the month of November was occupied by the weary and dispirited troops in falling back in this way from town to town, undergoing all the time the greatest privations and sufferings, and weighed down by every conceivable discouragement. They moved as slowly as possible, and were obliged studiously to conceal their true condition, and often to turn and present as firm and imposing a front as possible toward the enemy pressing upon them, in order to retard his advance. In this way the weary, way-worn, and exhausted troops fell slowly back, until they reached the Delaware at Trenton, where they crossed the river, the last boat-loads leaving the shore just as the van of Cornwallis' army were pressing forward into the town.

The British could not follow, for Washington had taken away all the boats for a long distance up and down the river. The only alternative was to build new boats, or wait for the freezing of the river

with a view of marching over on the ice. On account of the time and labor which would be required to construct the large number of boats necessary, and considering also the near approach of the season when the river would be frozen, Cornwallis decided on adopting the latter plan.

MEASURES FOR RECRUITING THE ARMY.

Although one might suppose that the work of conducting such a retreat as this would be enough to test to the uttermost the powers of any man, yet Washington, while thus urgently pressed with the duties connected with directing the movements of his army from day to day, sustaining the failing courage of his men, and watching the plans and manœuvres of the enemy, was all the time engaged, in connection with the Continental congress in session at Philadelphia, in maturing and carrying into effect a most vigorous system of measures for increasing and strengthening his army, and procuring supplies of food, of clothing, and of ammunition, so as to be prepared as soon as possible to turn upon his pursuers, and assume the offensive. In consequence of the arrangements thus made, Washington's army was increased not long after he passed the Delaware, to between five and six thousand men.

SITUATION OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

In pursuing the American army across New Jersey, Lord Cornwallis had not followed them up closely with his whole command; but believing, as he did, that the American forces were rapidly diminishing in numbers, and were greatly disheartened and discouraged, he had only sent forward a detachment in advance to pursue them closely, while he followed, marching more slowly with the main body, and leaving considerable portions of his force at the principal towns on the route, so as to hold the whole country securely. Washington, of course, soon ascertained, after he had crossed the river, that this was the situation of the British army; and he learned very soon afterward through his scouts, that there was at Trenton only a detachment, consisting of about fifteen hundred Hessians and a small body of horse under the command of Colonel Rall; and he conceived the bold idea of recrossing the river secretly and suddenly at night, and capturing them.

It seems that Colonel Rall had felt some uneasiness at being so near the enemy with so small a force, and at one time sent to his superior officer to ask for a reinforcement. But the officer sent word back to him that he need not give himself any un-

easiness. The enemy, having made his escape across the river into Pennsylvania, would be in no haste to come back again. He would undertake, he said, to keep the peace anywhere on the New Jersey side with a corporal's guard.

A CHRISTMAS SURPRISE.

Washington determined to make his contemplated movement on the night of Christmas. He knew that the Germans were accustomed to consider Christmas as a great holiday, and to spend it in feasting and merry-making during the day, which would be very likely, in the case of soldiers fancying themselves in a state of perfect security, to end in drunken carousals at night, which would bring great numbers of them into a condition very unfavorable for being aroused to meet a sudden irruption of the enemy upon them at midnight, taking them entirely by surprise. So he determined to make arrangements for attacking them at that ime.

THE CROSSING.

Everything favored the success of the enterprise. The night was dark, cold, and stormy, the air being filled with driving sleet and snow. Washington had arranged his force in several divisions, and sent

them to different points along the river, so as to confuse the enemy, by advancing upon his pickets in different directions. The division which Washington commanded in person, was to cross at a sufficient distance above Trenton, to allow of its being completely formed on that side, ready to march upon the town before any alarm should be given. The weather was so cold that the river was full of floating ice, and two of the men, in the course of the night, were actually frozen to death. All these things, though adding, as they did, so much to the immediate difficulty and danger of the enterprise, and testing so severely the courage and fortitude both of officers and men, were extremely favorable in respect to the result, since they aided in rendering complete the sense of security in which their intended victims were lulled.

The boats crossed the river in safety, and the army, after being landed, was formed in order of battle, and marched in two divisions, by two different roads, toward the town.

The darkness of the night, and the quantity of ice floating on the river, had detained the expedition so much, that instead of arriving at midnight it was four o'clock in the morning before the columns reached the town.

ALMOST A DISCOVERY.

In the meantime the approach of the American columns, stealthy as it was, came very near being made known to Colonel Rall. It seems that he, as well as his men, was disposed to do special honor to Christmas, and had accepted an invitation to a supper that night with some friends at a certain private house in Trenton. This party spent the whole night in playing cards, feasting and drinking wine, and were still thus engaged when the American forces began to approach the town. A person living on one of the roads by which they were coming, who was friendly to the British, sent a note by a special messenger to Colonel Rall, in great haste, to give him warning. The messenger on finding where the colonel was, went to the house, and demanded to see him. The negro servant who attended at the door, said that the colonel was engaged and could not be interrupted. The messenger then gave the servant the note, with earnest injunctions to deliver it immediately. The servant took it in and gave it to the colonel, and he being engrossed in his play, and perhaps somewhat under the influence of the wine which he had been drinking, put it for the moment into his pocket, intending to read it presently. He thought no more

of it until the discharges of musketry by the pickets, and the roll of the drums beating to arms, awoke him from his dreamy stupor, and filled him with consternation.

THE SURPRISE.

The surprise was complete. No suspicions of the approach of the Americans were excited until they had come upon the pickets stationed at the outskirts of the village. The pickets had immediately fired upon them and then retreated toward the town, giving the alarm. The drums beat to arms, and the whole town was aroused. Colonel Rall rushed out to place himself at the head of his men. The soldiers were hastily formed in the streets, and every possible effort was made to bring them into a condition of defence. But the impetuous assault of the American columns was too much for them. Their artillery was seized before they had time to bring the guns into position, and to complete the climax of their disasters, Colonel Rall, their commander, fell from his horse in the street while energetically attempting to marshal his men, mortally wounded by one of the hundreds of bullets that were whistling through the air.

After this all was hopeless panic and confusion. The body of the fallen colonel was borne away by

his aids to a house in the neighborhood, while the men all took to flight, on the road to Princeton, the subordinate officers vainly endeavoring to arrest them. They were, however, suddenly brought up as they were leaving the town by one of the divisions of Washington's army that was coming in by that road. Seeing themselves thus surrounded they threw down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The number thus secured, nearly all Hessians, was about a thousand, including twenty or thirty officers. A considerable number both of men and officers were killed before the surrender. The Americans took moreover six brass cannon, and a thousand stand of arms.

And all this with the loss of only two private soldiers killed, besides the two that perished with the cold.

RETURN OF THE FORCE ACROSS THE RIVER.

As it was only a detachment of the British army that were thus captured, and as the main body were not very far distant in the interior, it was necessary for Washington to make immediate arrangements for recrossing the river, with his prisoners and his spoils. He liberated all the officers on their parole. He went to the house where

Colonel Rall was lying to pay his dying enemy a visit, and to render him such services of kindness and of sympathy as it was in his power to bestow. He then commenced recrossing the river with his command, and before midnight of the 26th, the whole force, with all the prisoners, and all the property captured, were safe on the Pennsylvania side, and the boats secured there, making it impossible for the enemy to follow.

EFFECT OF THIS VICTORY UPON THE COUNTRY.

The news of this victory spread very rapidly and it produced an electric thrill of surprise and pleasure throughout the whole land. The Americans were everywhere greatly animated and encouraged, while the British and their partisans were confounded and amazed. Congress immediately passed acts clothing Washington with new and extraordinary powers. They knew that now after this exploit public opinion would sustain them in such a measure. Recruits too began soon to come in, and the men, inspired with fresh confidence and courage were ready to cooperate cordially with him in all his plans and arrangments. Thus in the course of about two days from the victory at Trenton, Washington found himself strong enough to attempt the offensive once more. He crossed the river to Tren-

ton again, and very soon performed another very successful exploit.

THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

Immediately after the capture of the force at Trenton, the British abandoned all the minor posts which they held along the river, and withdrawing into the interior, concentrated their forces at Princeton. Washington then, after remaining a few days on the Pennsylvania side, and completing his arrangements there, crossed the river again, and took formal possession of Trenton, with a view to retaining it.

Upon this, Lord Cornwallis advanced with the main body of his army, leaving a small force at Princeton, toward Trenton, to attack Washington there. Washington posted himself in a strong position, with a small river—a branch of the Delaware—in his front, and succeeded during the first day in repulsing the British in all their attempts to pass over it. When night came, the operations were suspended, but Lord Cornwallis made preparations to renew his assault in the morning, with a degree of energy which he thought would make him sure of success. He said to one of his officers in the evening, that he was certain to "catch the fox" the next day.

All night they saw the camp-fires of the Americans burning in a long line on the other side of the little stream; but when the morning came, and the daylight enabled him to reconnoitre with his glass, they saw the camp-fires still burning, but not a man man nor a tent was any where in view. Washington had marched away his whole force during the night, ordering the last men to pile on fresh supplies of fuel upon all the fires, so as to keep up the the semblance of an occupied camp as late as possible into the morning.

The question for Lord Cornwallis was now where the fugitives had gone. His first idea was that they had made their escape across the river into Pennsylvania again; but before long the faint and distant booming of cannon was heard in exactly the contrary direction,— that is, toward Princeton, where Cornwallis had left what remained of his army; and New Brunswick, where all his stores and supplies of ammunition were deposited, lay a little way beyond. Lord Cornwallis thought at first the sound might be thunder—a mistake excusable enough, since he was an Englishman, and unacquainted with the American climate. No American would think of hearing thunder on a clear, cold and frosty January morning.

"No," exclaimed one of his brother officers, after

listening to the sound, "it is no thunder! To arms! To arms! We are outgeneraled. It is the sound of Washington's guns!"

Corwallis at once put his troops in motion for Princeton, but arrived only in time to meet the flying remnants of the army that he had left there, and to learn that Washington had taken the place, destroyed, dispersed, or captured the troops, and was then marching off to the northward with his prisoners and his spoils.

MODERATION IN VICTORY.

Cornwallis was, moreover, now quite alarmed for the safety of his military stores and his supplies of provisions, that were deposited in New Brunswick, which lies beyond Princeton, in the direction in which Washington was moving, and which, of course, were now in great danger of being captured, and either carried away or destroyed. Washington was, indeed, strongly tempted to push on at once, and make an attack upon New Brunswick; but on consulting with his officers, it was concluded that the risk would be too great, as Cornwallis was now rapidly coming up, with a greatly superior force. Besides, his men were now almost entirely exhausted with their late incessant labors and sufferings. They were scantily clothed. Many of

them were even barefooted, and were obliged to walk in that way over the snowy and frozen ground. They had had no time for any proper breakfast that morning, nor, if the attempt were to be made to march to New Brunswick, would it be possible to make any halt for the purpose of supplying them with food.

So Washington concluded that it would be better to be satisfied, for the time being, with the advantages which he had already obtained, rather than to risk all, by grasping at more. So he turned off to the left, into a retired road leading to the northward, and then, after crossing a river and destroying the bridge behind him to prevent the enemy from following him, he brought his army to a halt, to allow them some refreshment and repose. The men were so exhausted that numbers of them, as soon as they were at liberty, lay directly down upon the frozen ground wherever they could find a place, and sank immediately into a long and profound slumber.

After allowing the men a few hours of rest, and distributing among them a proper supply of food, Washington resumed his march and proceeded to Morristown, which, as will be seen by the map, lies to the northward of Princeton and New Brunswick. He took possession of some elevated ground in the

vicinity of Morristown, and here established an intrenched camp, where he felt that he was safe.

AN UNEXPECTED SUPPLY OF WARM CLOTHING.

His troops received very soon an addition to their supply of winter clothing in a somewhat unexpected way. When Lord Cornwallis discovered what road the American forces had taken, he made all haste to pursue them. He was stopped by the bridge being down, but he immediately caused it to be repaired, and pressed forward again; and to make up for lost time, he drove the teams which conveyed his baggage and supplies so rapidly over the frozen ground, that many of the wagons became disabled. He collected these wagons together, and left a body of two or three hundred men to guard them while he hurried forward with the rest.

Now there was a company of militia men in that neighborhood consisting it is said, of only or fifteen or twenty men. These men conceived the idea of frightening this guard away from their charge, and capturing the wagons. So they waited until night, and then spreading themselves over a great space among the trees around the spot, they all at once, at a concerted signal, set up an unearthly shout, and began firing into the camp of the guard,—advancing upon them at the same time as rapidly as

possible. The guard hearing the shouts of the men, and the reports of the guns, coming as it were from all directions, indicating that the enemy occupied a wide front, imagined that they were very numerous. While some attempted to keep back the assailants, the rest hastily put the horses to such of the wagons as they had already repaired and then they commenced a rapid retreat toward New Brunswick, leaving a considerable number of the wagons in the hands of the Americans, by whom they were soon put in order and taken to Washington's camp, where they were found to contain what the troops were most in need of—warm clothing.

ENCAMPMENT AT MORRISTOWN.

Washington on his arrival at Morristown, proceeded at once, as has already been said, to establish a permanent camp there, and in a strong position, where his men, when not engaged in active expeditions might enjoy some degree of comfort during the remainder of the winter. He established his own head-quarters in a tavern, and set the men at work to build log huts for themselves, which furnished them ample shelter. Fuel was quite easily to be obtained from the surrounding woods, and provisions were tolerably plenty. Still

the men suffered much for want of comfortable clothing, especially in the numerous expeditions which were made by detachments that were sent off from time to time, to attack particular posts, cut off trains of supplies and otherwise harass the enemy.

These expeditions were, however, on the whole very successful, so much so that before spring the British army was driven almost entirely out of New Jersey.

INCREASE OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN WASHINGTON.

The success of these operations in the Jerseys produced a great effect throughout the nation, and greatly increased the confidence that was felt in Washington, both in congress, and among the people throughout the country at large. Under these circumstances congress thought it best to enlarge his powers, and confer upon him a much wider discretion than he had exercised before, so as to enable him to act in a more prompt and vigorous manner than would be possible while he was obliged to wait for their sanction for all important movements and measures, before he could carry them into effect. They conferred upon him extraordinary powers in respect to raising troops, appointing officers to command them, procuring sup-

plies, and making arrangements in all respects for an efficient prosecution of the war. The country at large, approved of this policy, and it is now universally admitted that Washington exercised the almost dictatorial powers entrusted to him, with singular prudence and moderation, and without any regard to his own interest and aggrandizement, but solely with a view to the advancement of the cause committed to his hands.

THE MALCONTENTS.

Still there was a considerable minority of malcontents and fault-finders. The burden of their complaints was, as it always has been in our history, and probably from the nature of the system of government which it would seem must necessarily prevail on this continent for an indefinite period to come,—always will be—the usurpation of state rights. They charged that congress in conferring these powers on Washington were exceeding their own powers, and were encroaching on the rights of the states, and that their attempt to do so ought to be resisted.

Of course it was chiefly the party of the tories, —friends of British power and the enemies of independence—that took the lead, sometimes openly and sometimes secretly, in encouraging these com

plaints. It was their mode of opposing the measures of congress and the operations of Washington, and aiding, without appearing to intend to aid, the cause of the enemy.

This is a difficulty which in every war in which this country shall ever be engaged must necessarily arise. The system of policy which has prevailed from the very beginning among this people, during the times of the Continental congresses, under the articles of confederation, and under the federal constitution, and which will doubtless continue to prevail through the course of all the modifications which the constitution will hereafter undergo, is that in ordinary times, when the country is at peace, and the people are engaged in their avocations of quiet industry, the separate states shall manage their affairs each for itself in its own way, with very little interference from the united will of all. At such times power naturally separates itself and gravitates in portions, each to its own sphere. There is no occasion *then* for the united will to express itself.

But when a foreign war arises, -- or an extended and dangerous insurrection—or any other crisis threatening the nation as a whole,—then the power of the whole, as a whole, will arise and assert itself, and will necessarily interfere more or less, and

so far as is necessary to accomplish the ends in view, with the several divisions, in the exercise of powers which in ordinary times they were accustomed to hold in exclusive and unquestioned possession. Then those, who oppose the united will, from whatever motive, will of course at once make the alleged encroachment upon state rights their most available party cry.

The evil was greater in Washington's day than it is now, for then the congress by whose authority he acted, had in theory no expressed or well-defined powers, but only such vague and uncertain control as public sentiment and the exigencies of the crisis conferred upon them. We have now, however, a written constitution, which distinctly invests the national government with the power of making war, whenever necessary to save the country, either from foreign aggression or from internal violence; and the power to make war, carries with it all those extraordinary, and in a great measure irresponsible powers, which by the international laws and usages of the civilized word, are accorded to every belligerent, and before which unfortunately personal rights and civil institutions, when they come into collision with them, must necessarily in some degree give way.

Still, notwithstanding all the authority which

any written constitution can give, whenever the national power, long accustomed to lie dormant, is called forth into action, in any great and momentous crisis, those who oppose, for any reason, the end in view, or the general course pursued for the attainment of it, will always make the inevitable, though exceptional and temporary expansion of the national power, and its entrance for certain purposes into what is ordinarily the domain of local law—which is inevitable, though exceptional and temporary—the chief vantage ground of their opposition and their great rallying cry.

Washington found it so. The opposition, however, which he had to encounter in this way, did not daunt him or deter him from the vigorous prosecution of his work, though it greatly increased the difficulties and embarrassments which he had to overcome.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXPEDITION OF BURGOYNE.

THE AVENUE TO CANADA.

THE reader will perhaps recollect that it was stated in the last chapter that General Howe, after gaining possession of New York, and forcing the American armies to retire—a portion to the northward up the Hudson, and the rest into New Jersey—was at first in doubt which portion he should follow, being for a time strongly inclined to move up the Hudson, with a view of coöperating with a force which it was intended to organize in Canada, to come down through the great valley which separates New England from New York, and which is marked to the eye upon the map by the course of the river Sorel and Lake Champlain toward the north, and by the river Hudson toward the south. This valley forms, as it were, a grand avenue of connection between the Atlantic territory and Canada, and has always been, in time of war, from the very earliest period, the scene of the most important military operations.

The plan of the British government was, to organize in Canada a force large enough to march down and take possession of this whole valley, so as to cut off the New England states entirely from New York and the more southern colonies, thus dividing in two the territory in insurrection, and rendering it impossible for the two portions to act any longer in concert.

GENERAL BURGOYNE.

This plan was formed in England by the king in council, and the execution of it was entrusted to General Burgoyne, a nobleman of quite high standing in the English court. Burgoyne had already seen considerable service in America, particularly in wars with the French and Indians some years before, when he had the opportunity to become well acquainted with the country, through which this grand expedition was now to be made. He arrived at Quebec to take command of the enterprise in March, 1777.

The governor of Canada at this time, was Sir Guy Carleton. He was disappointed, and felt in some degree humiliated, that the command of this undertaking had not been conferred upon him. He, however, rendered Burgoyne all possible aid in or-

ganizing the expedition, and in making all the necessary preparations and arrangements.

THE RENDEZVOUS.

The place of rendezvous of the expedition was at St. Johns, which stands, as will be seen by the map at the commencement of the second chapter, on the banks of the Sorel, not very far from where that river issues from the lower, that is, the northern end of Lake Champlain. Here the vessels that were required were built, and the stores were collected. By the first of June the preparations were complete, and an army of eight thousand men was assembled. Besides the British troops, there was a considerable force of Germans, and a large number of Canadian boatmen, lumbermen, porters, and other laboring men, necessary to perform the various services required in conducting an army through the forests and along the courses of the half navigable streams, which occupied the country to be traversed, between the head waters of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River.

INDIAN ALLIES.

The expedition set sail from St. Johns, and moving up the river in a large fleet of transports and vessels-of-war, entered Lake Champlain, and thence

passing on without resistance, through the greater portion of the lake, came at length to the region of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, the first forts held by the Americans. Just before reaching Crown Point, General Burgoyne landed to confer with a large body of Indians, whom he had appointed to meet him there. After the usual feastings and carousings, and the various war dances and other barbarous rites customary among savages on such occasions had been duly celebrated, Burgoyne made an arrangement with the Indians to furnish him four hundred warriors to add to his force. Having secured this accession to his army, he prepared to advance into the region of the American settlements, on the frontiers of which he had now arrived.

A PROCLAMATION.

He immediately issued a proclamation, addressed to the people of the country, calling upon them to submit at once, in order to save themselves from the horrors of the war which he was about to wage upon them. The proclamation announced in a somewhat grandiloquent manner the immense and overwhelming superiority of British power, and the hopelessness of any attempt on their part to resist it. Besides this, he informed them of the large

Indian force that was joined with him, reminded them of the savage atrocities which these barbarians were accustomed to commit, and which it would be wholly impossible for him to restrain. By these and similar representations he endeavored to overawe the population of the country, and induce them to submit at once to the restoration of the British authority over them.

EXCITEMENT AND ALARM AMONG THE AMERICANS.

In the mean time all was excitement and alarm among the Americans. The plan of this invasion had been kept in a great measure secret, and congress had made no adequate preparations to meet it. The people, too, in all the region of country through which the army of the invaders was about to advance, were especially alarmed. They began to make hurried preparations for defence. Troops were raised and marched to and fro. The country was filled with wild reports and rumors, and various and conflicting opinions were formed in respect to what ought to be done. There were personal differences, too, among the officers in command of the forces in that part of the country, arising from rivalries and mutual jealousies. The two principal generals were Gates and Schuyler. There was quite a contention to determine which of them

should be placed in chief command of the army to meet Burgoyne. After much debate and difficulty congress appointed Schuyler. Then Gates took offence and refused to serve under Schuyler, or to render any coöperation. Thus, on the part of the Americans, all was excitement, and alarm, and disputing, and confusion.

CAPTURE OF THE LAKE CHAMPLAIN FORTS.

Under these circumstances it was not to be expected that Burgoyne should at first meet with any serious resistance, and in fact he did not. For a time, his army advanced victoriously, carrying everything before it. The first point of attack was the fort at Ticonderoga. Burgoyne landed his forces and his artillery a short distance north of the fort, and began to take positions on the hills surrounding and commanding it; but General St. Clair, the American officer, in authority, did not wait for the attack. He had previously placed a strong boom across the lake, at the fort, which, together with a bridge which was built here, formed obstructions that effectually prevented the British squadron from advancing beyond that point until the fort was taken. His own vessels—those that remained of the American fleet on the lake—were above, that is, to the southward of the obstruction

He at once embarked a portion of his men on board these vessels, very secretly at night, and put all the ammunition and military stores which he could remove from the fort on board a number of large, flat-bottomed boats, and then abandoning the fort, he made the best of his way southward to the upper end of the lake, and landed his flotilla there, at the place where the town of Whitehall now stands.

The rest of the men were moved in profound silence over the long bridge which crossed the lake at this point, and thence commenced their march by land, through the woods, to the southward.

This escape was effected with great difficulty. In fact it came very near being defeated altogether, for the British army had possession of heights on the shore that commanded a full view of the water; and it was only by making the arrangements in the most secret manner possible, and accomplishing the whole movement in the dead of night, that the retreat could be effected at all. As it was, it was discovered somewhat prematurely, by the light of a building that was set on fire on the other side of the lake, just as the last of the men were retiring, and the British immediately commenced measures for a vigorous pursuit.

Of course on the evacuation of Ticonderoga,

all the other forts and strongholds of the Americans on Lake Champlain were abandoned too, and the whole fell together into Burgoyne's hands.

PURSUIT OF THE AMERICANS.

There were two detachments sent in pursuit of the Americans. One consisted of a squadron of vessels sent up the lake, as soon as the boom and the bridge could be broken through, to intercept the flotilla which conveyed the stores and ammunition to what is now Whitehall, and the other a force by land, to follow the army. Both were successful. The convoy of the stores was overtaken, and the stores were all captured and conveyed back to the fort; and the rear-guard of the retreating army was also intercepted, a few miles from Castleton,* in Vermont, on their way to the southward. They were attacked and defeated with great loss, and some hundreds were made prisoners.

A few succeeded in making their escape to the main body, some miles farther on, and the whole then continued to retreat rapidly to the southward, in order to meet and join the forces of General Schuyler, who had now organized his army, and was coming up the Hudson.

*See Map at the commencement of Chapter II.

CONTINUED RETREAT OF THE AMERICANS.

The reader will observe by the map, that between the upper, that is, the southern end of Lake Champlain, and the nearest waters of the Hudson, there is a tract of land to be passed, which, as may be seen by comparing it with the scale of miles, is about twenty-five miles in extent. This was a famous portage in those days, and was much travelled by means of a rough road constructed through the woods, with long causeways of logs over the swampy portions of the ground, and rude bridges for crossing the small streams. This road was guarded by three forts: one, Fort Skene, at the upper extremity of the road, where Whitehall now stands; another, Fort Anne, midway, and a third, Fort Edward, at the end of it, on the Hudson—not, however, where the waters of the Hudson are first reached, but some miles below, where the river first begins to be navigable. This lower fort, Fort Edward, was the place appointed by General Schuyler as the rendezvous of his forces, both of those who were retreating from the lake, and of those who were assembling from the neighboring states, or coming up the Hudson, to form the new army.

To this point, accordingly, the broken and de-

OBSTRUCTING THE WAY.

feated columns that Burgoyne was pursuing endeavored to make their way by the road above described. As they advanced, they halted here and there, to obstruct the passage as much as possible, in order to retard their enemies in their pursuit. They filled the channel of a creek, which might be used for boats, at a certain part of the way, with impediments to navigation, they broke up the causeways, they burned or demolished the bridges, and at every narrow pass they closed up the road with trees, which they felled into it, from the sides, in such a manner as that the branches, inextricably intertwined together, should effectually bar the way, and also require a great deal of time and a vast amount of labor for the removal of them.

Thus the scattered remains of the American troops moved on until they reached Fort Anne, the middle station of the portage. Here they at first thought that they should be able to make a stand, but finding that the enemy were coming on in overwhelming force, they set fire to the fort and all the buildings connected with it, and then resumed their retreat, still continuing to break up and obstruct the road behind them, in order to impede as much as possible their enemies in the pursuit.

EXCITEMENT IN CONGRESS AND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

As the news of these events reached congress and spread through the country, they awakened a general indignation, as well as universal alarm. The generals in command were considered to have evinced great cowardice or great incompetency, in allowing themselves to be so easily expelled from positions so strong, with so large a force, too, under their command. Many of them were, for a time, denounced as traitors, and charged with acting in collusion with the enemy. But on a calm investigation of the whole case, which took place subsequently, it was proved to the satisfaction of congress and the country, that under the circumstances in which they were placed, they could not have acted otherwise than they did; and they were finally exonerated from all blame.

BRIEF OCCUPATION OF FORT EDWARD.

At length, the retreating troops reached Fort Edward, and were joined there by the army of Schuyler, which had come up the river, and by other bodies of troops assembling there from all the neighboring region. Fort Edward was a very strong and capacious work, the walls surrounding it being

sixteen feet high and twenty feet thick, and built of logs and earth.

Schuyler established himself at this post, but he did not long remain here. Burgoyne was steadily advancing, and though his progress was very slow on account of the delay which the impediments and obstructions in the road occasioned him, he at length arrived safely on the banks of the Hudson, where the way was comparatively open before him to Fort Edward. Schuyler did not consider himself yet strong enough to make a stand against the British force, and so he evacuated the fort and moved down the river to the mouth of the Mohawk, where he made another stand.

EXPEDITION INTO VERMONT.

These various movements and operations had occupied so much time, that it was now the first of August. Burgoyne had been delayed, moreover, in some degree, by his desire to open communications with the people of the country, large numbers of whom were opposed to the independence of the colonies, and many of them were ready to join his army. He did, in fact, in this way receive large accessions to his force. And now he conceived the idea of sending out an expedition into the borders of Vermont, to procure more aid of this character

He gave the command of the expedition to Colonel Baum, and the object of it was, as he said in the instructions which he gave him, "to try the affections of the country, to procure a number of horses for mounting a corps of dragoons, to obtain royalist recruits, and to collect supplies of cattle and provisions."

These last were becoming, in fact quite essential to him, for the distance from Canada was now so great, and the land carriage for a portion of the way so laborious and slow, that his stock of provisions was nearly exhausted.

The general was destined, however, to be greatly disappointed in the fruits of this expedition, for the fortune of war was now about to turn in favor of the American cause.

PREPARATIONS IN VERMONT AND NEW HAMPSHIRE.

During all this time, while Burgoyne had been advancing with his force, great excitement and alarm had prevailed throughout Vermont and New Hampshire, for no one knew certainly what the object of his expedition was to be. There was no special reason for believing that he was intending to proceed down the Hudson to New York. He might, for aught that appeared, be designing to march east-

ward into New England, and to Boston. There was consequently in all that region great alarm.

The legislature of New Hampshire had accordingly at once determined to raise a force to defend their state; and they put the men under the command of General Stark, a plain farmer of the interior, who had, however, seen considerable service already, and had distinguished himself by a sort of blunt sagacity and a cool and quiet, but determined energy, which gave him great influence over his men. The rustic and almost homely simplicity of his character is shown by what he said to his soldiers, as they were going into battle, when they at length met the enemy, in lieu of the pretentious and grandiloquent speech often made by commanders on such occasions. The men were ascending a piece of rising ground, led by him, when they suddenly came in sight of the long lines of British troops in the celebrated scarlet uniforms, of which his men had often heard, but which many of them had never yet seen.

"There, boys!" said he; "there are the red coats! We will either have them all in our hands before night, or Molly Stark 's a widow."

He was not at this time, unfortunately, on good terms with congress, however, having taken offence at some of their proceedings in respect to him, and

he would not now take command of the New Hampshire force, except on condition that he was to act independently, under the orders of the New Hampshire legislature, and was not to be subject to General Schuyler or to congress in any way.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE AUTHORITY.

It was in consequence of this special arrangement made between the legislature of New Hampshire and General Stark, that there arose what was perhaps the first decided case of collision between the authority of the general government of the country and that of a particular state, of which afterward so many instances occurred, and which led to such serious embarrassments. Congress had appointed General Schuyler to command all the forces which might be raised in any of the states within this, the northern, department. New Hampshire on the other hand had appointed General Stark to lead the forces of that state, and had given him an independent command of them. General Schuyler sent an officer to meet Stark as he was advancing, with an order that he should come immediately with his troops to Fort Edward, and there join the main body. Stark refused to obey this order, and to sustain himself in his refusal produced the in-

structions which he had received from the authorities of the state of New Hampshire. Schuyler then reported the facts to congress, and congress passed a vote of censure on the legislature of New Hampshire. The whole affair led to a great deal of difficulty, and would probably have led to much more, had not the signal victory which General Stark soon obtained at Bennington turned all thoughts into other channels, and changed the spirit of bickering and complaint into an universal sentiment of triumph and joy.

THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

Colonel Baum at the head of his detachment, consisting of British and German troops, and of a large number of royalists from the country, who had joined him, together with a considerable body of Indians, crossed the frontier of Vermont, and advanced without any opposition as far as to Bennington. Here, finding that Stark was now close at hand with his New Hampshire troops and a body of "Vermont boys" who had joined him, he halted and encamped on a piece of rising ground near the town.

The American army slowly and cautiously approached. For two or three days there was a pause, which was spent by both sides in reconnoi-

tring, and making arrangements for the coming battle. During a part of this time a powerful rain fell, which also tended tc prevent very active operations. At length, however, on the 16th of August General Stark advanced to the attack. A long and desperate battle was fought, the result of which was the total defeat and dispersion of the British forces. Colonel Baum was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterward. Two hundred of his men were killed, and seven hundred were taken prisoners. The rest abandoned the ground and fled at last with such precipitancy as to leave behind them several pieces of cannon, a considerable quantity of arms, drums, and other articles thrown away in their flight, and several wagons of ammunition.

The Americans lost only about one hundred men. About a hundred more were wounded. General Stark was unhurt though he had a horse shot under him.

CHANGE IN THE FORTUNE OF WAR.

This battle of Bennington, like that of Trenton in the campaign in the Jerseys, was the commencement of a new era in the operations connected with Burgoyne's invasion. The news of it sent a thrill of joy throughout the whole country, and nerved

the people everywhere to fresh exertion. A very few days after it occurred it was followed by another success on the other side of Burgoyne's line of march, that is on the New York side. The success in this latter case was accomplished by a very ingenious stratagem.

FORT SCHUYLER.

Fort Schuyler was situated at the head-waters of the Mohawk river where the town of Rome now stands. It was near the frontier of the American settlements and formed a very important outpost. A considerable force, comprising a large body of Indians, had come down in that direction from Canada, by way of Oneida Lake, with the intention of capturing the fort, and then sweeping down in triumph through the valley of the Mohawk to join Burgoyne's victorious army on the Hudson. They invested the fort, and after various manœuvres and operations on the part both of the besiegers and of the garrison, which extended through several weeks, and comprised some very bloody battles but which cannot here be described in detail, the garrison was at last reduced to great extremity. The men were exhausted with fatigue, the provisions were spent, and the ammunition was nearly exhausted.

SUMMONS TO SURRENDER.

The British general sent in a demand for the surrender of the fort, by one of his officers under a flag of truce. This officer, in delivering his message made statements that were entirely false in respect to the progress which Burgoyne had made, and said moreover that they had a large body of Indians under them, who could with difficulty be restrained as it was, and that if the garrison resisted any longer the Indians would, in the end, on finally taking the place, massacre the whole of them, and then sweep through the country with fire and sword, and create universal desolation.

To this the officers replied very indignantly that such a message as that, threatening massacre for themselves and for their wives and children as a means of compelling them to surrender a military post, was one that was unworthy of any British officer to send, and they were surprised that any British officer could be found to bring it; and that rather than to deliver the fort to so merciless and blood-thirsty a crew as the communication which they had made proved them to be, they would run the risk of being tortured to death, by the Indians, in their usual manner—which was by a process of cruelty too horrible to be described.

MESSENGERS SENT TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

While the garrison were in this strait two of the officers volunteered to attempt to pass through the lines of the enemy in the night and make their way to General Schuyler's camp. The names of the officers who undertook this extremely hazardous enterprise were Colonel Willet and Lieutenant Stockwell.

They crept secretly out of the fort by the sally port, one very dark and stormy night about ten o'clock. They were each armed with a spear. They crept along upon their hands and knees to avoid the observation of the sentinels, through a morass, till they came to the river. They crossed the river on a log. After reaching the opposite bank they plunged into a dark and tangled wood, the rain still coming down all the time in torrents. They had no means of guiding themselves and so they soon lost their way. At one time they were very near coming upon an Indian camp, but were warned of their danger by the barking of a dog. Finally they concluded to stop and remain where they were until morning.

The clouds broke away about daylight, and some stars appeared by means of which the adventurers discovered the points of the compass and so re-

sumed their journey. They took every precaution as they went on, to avoid leaving any traces of their march, for fear that the Indians might attempt to follow the trail. Sometimes they walked some distance in the bed of a brook, and often returned for a certain space on their track, in order to mislead pursuers. At length after a great variety of adventures, and some very narrow escapes, they obtained horses on the morning of the second day and thence went on rapidly until they reached General Schuyler's camp in safety.

ARNOLD'S RUSE.

This was before the success at Bennington, and Schuyler and his officers were much at a loss, and greatly divided in opinion, as to what it was best to do. Finally, it was determind to send a body of men to relieve the fort, if possible, and General Arnold, who was always ready when any desperate enterprise was to be undertaken, volunteered to command it. He set out upon his march, but when he began to draw near to the fort, he found that his force was altogether too small to attack the besiegers with any hope of success. So he undertook to frighten them away by a very singular and cunningly contrived stratagem.

HON-YOST.

He had among several royalist prisoners in his camp, a coarse, half-idiotic man, named Hon-Yost Schuyler. He caused this man to be tried by court-martial, on charge of treasonable aid afforded to the enemy, and condemned to death. His mother, who lived in the neighborhood, came in great distress to beg for her poor boy's life. For a time Arnold was inexorable, but at last he consented to spare his life on condition that he would go forward to the camp of the besiegers, before Fort Schuyler, and there, pretending to have escaped from General Arnold, make such representations to the British general and to the Indians, in respect to the force which Arnold was bringing on to relieve the fort, as to alarm them all, and induce them to abandon the siege; and in the mean time, as security for his fidelity, he was to leave his brother in his place, to be shot in his stead, unless he either succeeded in his undertaking, or else returned and gave himself up again.

His mother offered to remain herself in his place, as security for his return, but Arnold preferred the brother. The mother, in fact, would have been no security at all, as both she herself and her son would know that Arnold could not order the mother

to be shot, however faithless her son might have proved.

The plan, however, perfectly succeeded. Hon-Yost, accompanied by an Indian, proceeded to the British camp before Fort Schuyler. He appeared first at the Indian portion of the camp, where he came running in, breathless and greatly excited, and showing holes in his coat and clothes which he pretended had been made by bullets in the battle from which he had barely escaped with his life; and he gave such exaggerated accounts of the immense numbers of Arnold's army as to terrify the Indians exceedingly. They resolved at once to retreat, and when they made known their determination to the British commander, he sent for Hon-Yost, and was himself alarmed in the same manner, by the same tales. So he raised the siege and set off at once, in the night, on his retreat back to Canada. His Indian allies nearly all abandoned him, and scattered themselves in the surrounding woods, and the royalists who had joined his standard deserted him and returned to their homes, while all who had been inclined to take sides with the British throughout the whole valley, suddenly abandoned all thought of doing so, and either became peaceable and silent or else began to espouse the American cause.

GENERAL BURGOYNE'S DIFFICULTIES BECOME SERIOUS.

General Burgoyne now soon began to find that his situation was becoming exceedingly difficult and dangerous. The defeat at Bennington disappointed him in his expectation of receiving supplies of food from Vermont, and the reinforcements which he had expected by the way of Fort Schuyler were cut off and driven back. His Indian auxiliaries had nearly all abandoned him. His own troops were greatly diminished by the fatigues, exposures and conflicts of the long summer campaign. These causes, which conspired to discourage him and his army, had operated greatly to encourage and inspirit the Americans. The whole country was aroused. Recruits and volunteers came in rapidly in larger or smaller parties, to swell the American force, and to aid in surrounding him. Detachments were sent to the northward to break up the roads leading from Lake Champlain, in order to prevent his receiving any more supplies from Canada, and even some of the forts and other posts on the shores of the lake were recaptured.

Thus he found himself in the midst of an enemy's country, cut off from supplies of food and ammunition, with a large and powerful army before him and an excited population everywhere rushing

to arms, and gathering on every side to surround him and cut off his retreat.

JENNY M'CREA.

The plan of bringing Indians with him as auxiliaries might have operated advantageously in intimidating the people of the country and making them more ready to submit, if the expedition had been successful; but as it was, the effect was extremely unfavorable, inasmuch as it only operated to exasperate the Americans in every part of the country, and to arouse a universal and most determined resentment among them. This resentment was greatly aggravated throughout the whole country by the stories which were circulated in respect to poor Jenny McCrea, who was murdered and scalped by the Indians.

Jenny was an orphan. She was born near New York, but had been for some time living with her brother, on the Hudson River, in the vicinity of Fort Edward. She was engaged to be married to a young man named David Jones, who, when the war broke out, took the British side, and went to Canada with one of her brothers, where he interested himself in enlisting men to fight against the Americans, and was made a lieutenant in one of the companies he helped to raise. He joined Bur-

goyne's expedition, and came down with him to the Hudson.

When the British began to draw near to Fort Edward, Jenny was on a visit up the river a little way, at the house of a Mrs. Neil, where she was very intimate. Her brother repeatedly sent for her to come home to his house, in order to be ready to escape with him down the river; but she knew that her lover was coming with the advancing army, and her sympathies were naturally on that side too. Mrs. Neil was also of that party, and so she continued to remain in her house. At last, when Burgoyne's army began to approach very near, her brother sent her a peremptory summons to come to his house immediately, and he made arrangements to have her conveyed in a boat down the river.

THE CAPTURE.

But just as she was about to embark in the boat, a boy saw some Indians coming stealthily toward the house. He ran to the fort to give the alarm, but before any help could come, the Indians had entered the house, and the mischief was done.

The only persons in the house were Mrs. Neil, Jenny, a black servant girl, and two small children. These all, as soon as they heard that the Indians were coming tried to get down through a

trap-door into a cellar to hide themselves. They all succeeded in doing this except Mrs. Neil, who was advanced in years and very fleshy, and the Indians seized her just as she was passing through the door. They also went down into the cellar, and found Jenny, and brought her up; but as the place was dark, they did not see the face of the black girl, and so did not find either her or the two children, whom she concealed behind her clothes.

They immediately made off with their two captives, the soldiers from the fort, who had now taken the alarm, pursuing and firing at them. The Indians, however, made good their escape. A portion of them arrived at the camp, bringing with them Mrs. Neil, breathless, exhausted, and half dead with terror and fatigue, and almost naked, too, as the Indians had plundered her of nearly all her clothing. Soon afterwards the others came, bringing with them the scalp of poor Jenny, which Mrs. Neil—overwhelmed with horror—at once recognized by the long and glossy tresses of the hair.

ACCOUNT GIVEN BY THE INDIANS.

The story of the Indians was, that Jenny was killed by one of the bullets shot after them by the pursuers from the fort, and that, as they could not then bring her in as a living prisoner, they did

what they considered the next best thing, by taking her scalp as a trophy.

We have not space to describe in full the remaining incidents of this dreadful affair—the excitement which it produced in the camp, the anguish and despair into which Mrs. Neil was plunged—the distressing difficulty of her situation, from the fact that for some time no apparel could be found that she could wear—and of her being covered with a military cloak until other arrangements could be made—of the search for and recovery of poor Jenny's body, and its being borne down the river to her brother's in the same boat by which she was herself to have been conveyed—and of the overwhelming and long-protracted anguish of Jenny's lover, who never recovered from the dreadful shock which he had received.

EFFECTS PRODUCED BY THE DEATH OF POOR JENNY.

The story of this murder went all over the country, and produced everywhere a very deep and profound sensation. It was told in various forms, one of which, and the one which has remained widely current to this day, was, that Lieutenant Jones employed the Indians himself, to procure his intended bride, and bring her from out the American lines into the British camp, where she could be under

his protection, promising them a large reward if they would procure her and deliver her to him in safety—and that, the Indians falling into a quarrel about her, or about the reward, on the way, killed her, and then took off her scalp. This story was very widely circulated, and many other circumstances were related and generally believed, which had no foundation in fact. The particulars of the case were, however, after all, immaterial. A universal feeling of indignation was aroused throughout the country, and even in Europe, at the outrageous atrocity of a Christian and civilized people bringing down with them in a war against their own fellow countrymen and kindred, hordes of such reckless and bloodthirsty savages as these were shown to be, by any of the various versions of the story of Jenny McCrea, which were circulated through the world.

Poor Jenny McCrea! Although her sympathies, through her maidenly love for her betrothed, and her natural interest in the cause which he had espoused, may have been altogether against the American cause, there was perhaps no one life sacrificed through the whole struggle which exerted a more effectual influence on the final and successful termination of it than that of this unhappy maiden.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.

THE CRISIS APPROACHING.

Soon after the middle of September, General Burgoyne began to find that his situation was becoming extremely critical. His Indian alliés had nearly all deserted him, and returned to their native forests. His own troops had been greatly diminished. The recruiting of his forces from the royalists of the country, on which he had placed great reliance, had entirely ceased. On the other hand, the forces of the Americans were very rapidly increasing—the current of feeling throughout the whole region having been turned altogether against Burgoyne by the reverses which he had met with, the discouraging prospects before him, and by the general exasperation which had been produced by the conduct of his savage allies.

He was for a time greatly at a loss to know what to do. The way of retreat across the land to Lake Champlain and down the lake had already been cut off, and was in the hands of his enemies. Before

him, too, the passage was closed by a large and increasing force, and a net was gradually being drawn around him, from which the difficulty of extricating himself was growing greater and greater every day. He at length concluded that desperate as was the alternative, the only hope for him was in the attempt to cut his way through the army before him, and force a passage down the river.

THE BATTLE OF BEMIS'S HEIGHTS.

Burgoyne accordingly moved onward and crossed the Hudson by a ford below Fort Edward, in order to attack the American army, which was encamped upon certain rising grounds near the river, called Bemis's Heights. General Gates was in command of this army at this time, General Schuyler having been superseded on account of the dissatisfaction which was felt in congress and throughout the country with his want of success in withstanding Burgoyne's advance in the early part of the campaign, though he was afterwards entirely exonerated from all blame. General Gates made an excellent disposition of his forces to stop the enemy's way. He selected ground which was so situated that the elevation of a part of it, together with deep ravines in other parts, and a series of intrenchments which he threw up where the ground was level, formed a

long line of formidable obstructions, extending to some distance back from the river. Here General Burgoyne advanced to attack him on the 19th of September. An obstinate battle was fought, the result of which was, that the Americans held their ground, and though they lost many men, the British lost many more, and failed entirely in their attempt to force their passage.

Burgoyne fell back after the battle to a stronger position, where he intrenched himself, and the two armies remained inactive for many days.

BATTLE OF STILLWATER.

Burgoyne made every possible effort to send word down to New York, to General Clinton, who was in command there, to inform him of his desperate situation, and to urge him to send up a force to relieve him; but the American pickets and sentinels kept up so close a watch upon all the avenues of egress as to render all communication impossible.

In the meantime the British army were gradually coming to the end of their scanty store of provisions, while the numbers, and the strength, and confidence of the Americans were increasing every day.

At length, after many operations and manœuvres which cannot be here fully detailed, another great

battle was fought, which is generally known as the battle of Stillwater. It continued for two days the 7th and 8th of October, and the result was, that Burgoyne's army was again defeated and driven back within their lines, with a loss of many hundred men. The Americans captured, too, many of the British guns, a number of tents, and a considerable quantity of ammunition.

DEATH AND BURIAL OF GENERAL FRASER.

One of the most serious of the losses which the British army sustained on this occasion, was in the death of General Fraser, one of Burgoyne's most valuable officers. He was mortally wounded by the American sharp-shooters while he was on duty in the field with some officers of his staff. Just before he was struck himself, a ball cut the crupper of his saddle, and another, passing just before him, went through his horse's mane. Those around him warned him that probably the enemy were taking special aim at him, and urged him to move away—but he deemed it important that he should remain at his post, and a moment afterwards he fell mortally wounded, and was carried into the camp.

He died that night; but before he died, he requested to be buried on a mound within a certain redoubt which formed a part of the works which

the Americans were assailing His body remained covered with a sheet, in the tent where he died, during all the next day, while the battle was still going on. At length, at six o'clock preparations were made for the burial, according to the request of the dying man; and a small party, headed by the chaplain, proceeded in funeral procession to the mound.

The Americans observed them, and not knowing in what duty they were engaged, opened fire upon them; and during a portion of the time while the chaplain was reading the burial service, cannon balls were striking here and there all around the spot. The earth thrown up by one of the balls fell upon the chaplain, Mr. Brudenell, and also upon the body—as if the demon of carnage wished to take part in its own terrible way, in the holy ceremony enjoined by the rubric of the episcopal church, of laying "dust to dust, and ashes to ashes."

At length, however, the Americans discovered what the state of the case was, and they immediately ceased the cannonading, but began soon to fire, at solemn intervals, a minute-gun, in token of respectful recognition of the ceremony, and in honor of the deceased. These guns were continued until

the service was concluded and the party had retired.

LADY HARRIET ACKLAND.

Perhaps the most romantic of the incidents which occurred during this memorable campaign are those connected with the story of Lady Harriet Ackland, the wife of Major Sir Francis Ackland, one of Burgoyne's most prominent officers. She was a lady of the highest rank and station, and had been accustomed in England to all the refinements and elegances of the very best English society. She, however, accompanied her husband to America, and kept herself as near to him all the time during the progress of the campaign as could be allowed; so that when he was sick, or in trouble of any kind, she could always come to him with very little delay. Of course, in doing this, she was subjected to privations, hardships, and exposures of the severest kind.

She was in the British camp during the battles of the 7th and 8th of October just described, and in the midst of all the confusion and dismay produced in the British army in their falling back from the battle ground, she learned that her husband was wounded and a prisoner in the hands of the Americans.

THE CAPTURE OF MAJOR ACKLAND.

Major Ackland was shot through the legs on the afternoon of the first day of the fight, and had succeeded in crawling for shelter into one of the angles of a zigzag fence near, when some American officers passing by, found him lying there, and an American boy near him just taking aim at him to shoot him. They ordered the boy off and caused Major Ackland to be conveyed to the American camp, where of course he was held as a prisoner, though he received all the attention which his rank, and his condition as a wounded man, demanded.

As soon as Lady Ackland learned this she sent a request to General Burgoyne to allow her to make the attempt to pass into the American lines to find her husband. General Burgoyne was in the midst of a scene of the greatest excitement and confusion when she made this request, but he was so much touched by the heroic devotedness to her husband which such a resolution implied—especially considering that Lady Ackland had been all day exposed to a drenching rain, and was almost exhausted with want of food, and of rest, that he at once seized a scrap of paper which lay at hand and wrote upon it as follows.

GENERAL BURGOYNE'S LETTER TO GENERAL GATES.

"SIR,—Lady Harriet Ackland, a lady of the first distinction of family, rank and personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland her husband, wounded, and a prisoner in your hands that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection. Whatever general impropriety there may be, in persons in my situation and yours to solicit favors, I cannot see the uncommon perseverance in every female grace and exaltation of character of this lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligations.

"I am sir, your obedient servant,

"J. BURGOYNE."

We readily see in the confused and somewhat incoherent style of this communication marks of the agitation and embarrassment of mind, and the circumstances of hurry and confusion under which it was written.

DOWN THE RIVER IN A BOAT.

Although Lady Ackland was faint with hunger, thirst and fatigue, General Burgoyne had nothing whatever to offer her for refreshment. Some one

procured her a little rum diluted with turbid water brought from the nearest pool. General Burgoyne ordered a boat to be immediately made ready, and furnished with men to row, and in this boat she set out just after sunset to go down the river to the American lines in the midst of a driving storm of wind and rain.

She had with her her own maid and her husband's servant, though the last was entirely helpless, having gone to the battle-field during the day to search for his master among the dead and wounded while the firing was still going on; and having himself been wounded by one of the balls. Besides these, the chaplain, Mr. Brudenel, who volunteered to accompany her, was also in the boat.

The boat pushed off, and the party went on down the river through the increasing darkness and storm for some miles, until they had passed entirely beyond the scene of the conflict between the two armies, and had reached the ground which was in the undisputed possession of the Americans. Here they turned in toward the shore. The danger now was that the pickets stationed on the bank would fire upon them without warning, as they would have perhaps been justified in doing on hearing a boat passing down the river in the dark. But they did not do so. The sentinel who first heard the sound

of the oars hailed them. Lady Ackland answered the summons herself, – thinking that if they heard a woman's voice, they would be less likely to fire.

The sentinel was alarmed on hearing her reply. He could see nothing, and to hear a female voice coming from out over the stormy water, in so dark and tempestuous a night, called up at once to his mind the idea of a ghost, or some other supernatural object of terror. He, however, after first calling one of his comrades, allowed the boat to come to the land. On hearing Lady Ackland's story he found it so incredible that he believed the party were spies, and so he detained them where they were until he could send to his commanding officer, Major Dearborn, for instructions.

Major Dearborn, as soon as he understood the case, immediately did everything in his power to relieve Lady Ackland's distress, and to accomplish her wishes. He invited her to his quarters, gave her tea and other refreshments, and then sent her under a suitable escort to the part of the camp where her husband was, and thus she rejoined him.

BARONESS RIEDESEL.

Among the other European ladies who accompanied their husbands on this expedition, was the

Baroness Riedesel, the wife of General Riedesel, who commanded one of the corps of German troops that the English subsidized for this war. These ladies all supposed, it seems, as their husbands also did, that there would be very little opposition made to Burgoyne's advance. The royalists were so numerous they thought, in the country which they were to pass through, and the terror of the other inhabitants would be so much excited by the Indian auxiliaries that accompanied the expedition, that there would be but little resistance attempted. The campaign pictured itself to their imaginations in the light of a triumphal progress which would only present to them a series of romantic but agreeable adventures, exciting to witness, and charming to recount to their friends on their return.

With this general feeling, however, there was doubtless mingled in the mind of each of the ladies some apprehension of possible difficulty and danger for her husband, in which the loving attention of a devoted wife might be of great value.

HARDSHIPS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE BARONESS.

During the last few days before Burgoyne surrendered, when his retreat was cut off, and every part of the ground which his forces occupied was under fire, the exposures and sufferings of these

ladies were terrible. Their husbands could do nothing for them, being either wholly absorbed in their dreadful work upon the field, or else perhaps wounded or made prisoners. When the last series of conflicts came on, the baroness was in a certain house in the town of Saratoga, which is still preserved and is known as the Riedesel house. Before long the approach of the Americans and the progress of the battle brought this house under fire, which fire was the more severe, as the Americans, seeing many persons coming and going about the place, supposed it was the head-quarters of the officers, whereas there was none within it but wounded men, and women and children. The baroness had with her three young children of her own.

The shots striking in and around the house soon drove all the inmates to seek refuge in the cellar. They remained here in great terror and distress all day, from time to time hearing the cannon balls crash through the house above them, and roll away over the ground beyond. The baroness crouched down in one corner, while her children lay by her side upon the cold ground, with their heads in her lap, and slept.

There were three other ladies in the cellar, and also several officers who were dreadfully wounded

They tried to partition off small spaces in the corners by putting up curtains, in order to afford the ladies some semblance of seclusion. They were in momentary fear of the house being set on fire by hot shot or shells, or of an irruption of the enemy upon them. They suffered very much for want of water; for if any one attempted to go down to the river to procure a supply, he was immediately made the target of a multitude of guns. At last, however, a soldier's wife was found, who was willing to go to the river, on the presumption that the Americans would not fire upon a woman.

Her opinion of the humanity of the American soldiers proved correct. They allowed her to go and come for water without molesting her.

The baroness and those who were with her remained in this dreadful situation for *six days!* when at length they were released by the cessation of hostilities which preceded the surrender. The baroness was soon afterward conveyed to the American camp, where she and her children were received by General Schuyler, and treated with the greatest kindness.

THE BARONESS RIEDESEL'S JOURNEY.

The baroness wrote a very minute and extremely graphic account of these scenes, and of the trials

and sufferings which she experienced in passing through them. Her narration closes in the following words:

"Some days after this we arrived in Albany, where we had so often wished ourselves; but we did not enter it—as we expected we should—victors. We were received by the good General Schuyler, his wife and daughters,—not as enemies, but as kind friends. They treated us with the most marked attention, as they did General Burgoyne, who had caused General Schuyler's beautifully-finished house to be burned. In fact they behaved like persons of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollections of their own injuries in a contemplation of our misfortunes. General Burgoyne was struck with General Schuyler's generosity, and said to him, "You show me great kindness, although I have done you much injury." "That was the fate of war," replied the brave man, "let us say no more about it."

But to return to the story.

BURGOYNE'S LAST COUNCIL OF WAR.

General Burgoyne continned to struggle despairingly against the terrible difficulties of his situation

for nearly a week after all reasonable ground of hope had disappeared. He was entirely surrounded; every avenue of escape was cut off, and the circle of fire which environed him had been drawing in upon him more and more closely, until his whole camp was now commanded by the guns of the enemy, and there was no place where even the wounded could be sheltered, or even a council could be held in safety. At last he was compelled to come to the conclusion that he must yield to his fate, and on the 13th of October he called a council of all his officers, to obtain their sanction for the surrender.

The deliberations of the council were very brief and hurried. Balls were flying about them all the time. The tent in which they were assembled was repeatedly perforated, and once an eighteen pound ball swept across the very table at which the generals were sitting. The conclusion was unanimous in favor of a surrender.

THE SURRENDER.

Accordingly a flag of truce was sent at once to General Gates, asking him to appoint a time to receive proposals, and he appointed ten o'clock the next morning. After various negotiations, a convention was agreed upon and signed

The surrender was not an unconditional one,—that is, the army of Burgoyne was not given up into the hands of the Americans to be held as prisoners of war, but the stipulations provided for their being marched across the country—of course, after being disarmed—to Boston, there to be embarked on vessels which the British government should provide for the purpose, and sent home to the several countries where the different classes of troops belonged,—on the express condition, however, that they were not to serve again against the Americans during the war.

The officers were to be released on their parole, and allowed to proceed down the river to Albany and thence to New York.

The arms, ammunition and stores, of course, were to be delivered to the Americans as their lawful prize. There were nearly fifty pieces of cannon, five thousand muskets, seventy thousand cartridges and other things in proportion.

The number of men that were surrendered were nearly six thousand. There were, however, more than twice that number of Americans surrounding them when the surrender was made.

MARCH OF THE CAPTURED TROOPS TO BOSTON.

The march of this vast body of disarmed and

helpless men to Boston formed one of the most extraordinary and imposing spectacles of the war. They were escorted by a small body of American troops. They marched, however, under the immediate direction of their own officers, their usual military organization being maintained. The people of the country flocked to see them as they passed, but no insult or indignity of any kind was offered to them. On the contrary they were everywhere treated with commiseration and kindness.

Some serious difficulties and delays arose, before these troops were finally embarked for Europe, arising from misunderstandings which cannot be here fully explained. In due time, however, they all, together with General Burgoyne, General Riedesel, Major Ackland and the other principal officers found their way to England.

SEQUEL OF THE STORY OF LADY ACKLAND.

Major Ackland and his family were accompanied by Mr. Brudenel, the chaplain who had evinced so much courage and such devotedness to Lady Ackland in the time of her extreme danger and distress. Some time after the return of the party to England Major Ackland lost his life in a duel, and his wife was so much overwhelmed with this

affliction that she lost her reason, and was for two years insane. At length, partly through the watchful care and kind attentions of the chaplain the balance of her mind was restored, and in the end, a strong mutual attachment sprang up between them and they were married.

EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.

The great victory of Gates over Burgoyne, involving as it did the capture of his entire army by the Americans, and the complete recovery of the whole region which had been the scene of the campaign, produced a very great sensation throughout the country and exerted a vast influence, both in Europe and America, in determining the final result of the war. The effect in Europe was even greater than in America. It greatly strengthened the hands of that portion of the English parliament and English people that had opposed the war, and embarrassed the ministers in respect to future measures for carrying it on.

RECOGNITION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE BY FRANCE.

The most important of the results of the victory was, however, its influence upon the policy of France. The French government had secretly favored the American cause from the beginning, and

had even offered some furtive aid; but they did not dare to take open ground in favor of the insurgents till they could see how they were likely to succeed. Congress had sent commissioners to France some time before this, and they had been endeavoring to negotiate a treaty with the French government to acknowledge the independence of the Americans, and aid them in the war. The French king, however, and his ministers, delayed taking any decided and open action, preferring to wait for a time, and watch the course of events. The news of the surrender of Burgoyne at once decided them. They openly received the commissioners, framed and ratified a treaty of alliance, in which the government of France publicly acknowledged the independence of America, and pledged itself to render vigorous aid in compelling England to acknowledge it, and not to lay down their arms until the effect was secured.

This treaty was concluded in February, 1778, and preparations were at once made to send out a large fleet and a considerable body of troops to coöperate with the Americans in carrying on the war.

The people now began universally to believe that their independence was sure.

CHAPTER VIII.

OCCUPATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

A SERIOUS REVERSE.

In the meantime, while in the north, the American cause had made so important an advance by the great victory gained by the armies under Schuyler and Gates over the grand expedition of Burgoyne, farther south the fortune of war had been, and for a long time continued to be, extremely unfavorable. The first of the disasters which befel the American arms in this direction was the loss of Philadelphia, together with that of all the country around, which was successfully invaded by a British expedition which arrived there from New York about the time that Burgoyne's difficulties and embarrassments on the banks of the Hudson were commencing.

EXPEDITION SENT TO PHILADELPHIA.

The expedition which attacked Philadelphia consisted of a fleet of ships conveying a land force of eighteen thousand men. It sailed from New York

in the middle of the summer of 1777, the year of Burgoyne's campaign. The fleet was under the command of Admiral Howe, and the land force under that of his brother, General Sir William Howe—the officers who had been so successful in their operations against New York, as related in a former chapter.

LANDING OF THE EXPEDITION.

It had been the intention of General Howe to take his force up the Delaware river, so as to approach Philadelphia with the fleet directly from the sea,—but he learned on his arrival in Delaware Bay that the passage up the river, besides being guarded by strong fortifications on the banks, was barred by formidable obstructions in the channel which it would be very difficult for the fleet to break through. So he concluded to go on and ascend Chesapeake Bay instead, from the head of which he could march by land across the intervening territory and so approach Philadelphia from the southern side. This movement was successfully accomplished, and the whole force was landed in safety, on the 25th of August, near the mouth of the river Elk, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, fifty or sixty miles southwest of Philadelphia.

THE PROCLAMATION.

There was no force there to oppose the landing, but General Howe was delayed some days by stormy weather, and by the necessity of procuring and other means of tranportation for his provisions and baggage across the land. During this interval he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, inviting them to return to their duty as subjects of the king, and promising protection to all who should come in and surrender themselves, and take the oath of allegiance.

The proclamation had no effect. The people with one accord combined to resist the invaders. They organized themselves into militia companies, and prepared to do everything in their power to embarrass General Howe's operations, and impede his march, although they were aware that they could do nothing effectual to oppose him, until the regular army under Washington arrived.

ADVANCE OF WASHINGTON.

We left Washington in the spring of this year in New Jersey, where he had been successfully engaged in expelling the British from that state. As soon as he heard of Howe's landing he crossed the the Deleware and advanced to meet him. The two

armies came together on the banks of the river Brandywine which, as may been by the map,* is a small stream flowing into the Delaware river a little south of Philadelphia.

THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

Here on the 11th of September 1777, a protracted and obstinate battle was fought, the result of which was decidedly against the Americans. Indeed it could hardly have been expected to be otherwise, for the Americans brought into the field only about eleven thousand men, and of these many were fresh recruits just enlisted, and the others were more or less exhausted by their long and hurried march from New Jersey. The British force on the other hand was eighteen thousand strong.

Washington, however, felt bound, notwithstanding these disadvantages, to make an attempt to arrest the progress of the enemy, knowing very well that if he were to abandon the defence of Philadelphia without a struggle, the country would be greatly disappointed and much discouraged.

The American army fell back in considerable disorder from the banks of the Brandywine after

* See Map near the commencement of Chapter V.

the battle, leaving the way to Philadelphia open to the conquerors. General Howe immediately marched on and took possession of the city. In the meantime, however, congress, anticipating this result, had removed the hospitals, magazines, public stores, and all other national property, to places of security in the interior, and had adjourned to Lancaster, a town situated about seventy or eighty miles to the westward of Philadelphia.

General Howe did not lead his whole force into the city, but taking two or three regiments there, he marched the rest to Germantown, which, as will be seen by the map, lies a few miles to the northward, and established a permanent camp for them there.

THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

As soon as General Washington had recovered from the effects of his defeat on the Brandywine, and had obtained the necessary reinforcements, he formed a plan for attacking the British camp in Germantown. But the plan was not destined to succeed. The American army advanced in four columns, marching all night with the intention of surprising the camp before it was light in the morning. The surprise itself was successful, but after a protracted and obstinate struggle the Americans

were beaten off and were obliged to retreat in confusion, with a loss of a thousand men.

THE DELAWARE FORTS.

The victory of the British and their possession of the ground was now complete, except that the Americans still held possession of the forts on the Delaware, just below the city, which commanded the channel at the points where the obstructions had been laid. The British ships were thus prevented from coming up the river, and were cut off from the only channel of communication by which supplies could be brought up to the army during the coming winter. It was very necessary for them therefore to reduce these forts and remove the obstructions in order to make their position in Philadelphia tenable.

The principal forts were Fort Mifflin and Fort Mercer, which, as will be seen by the map, were situated at the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill some miles below Philadelphia. Preparations were accordingly made as soon as possible for an attack on these forts with an overwhelming force, one from the river and the other from the land. The Americans determined to defend them to the last extremity.

THE FIRST ATTACKS REPULSED.

Fort Mercer, on the New Jersey shore, was attacked by a large body of Hessians under the command of Count Donop, on the land side. They first sent a herald with a drummer and a flag of truce, up to the walls, to demand the surrender of the fort. The herald called out,

"The king of England orders his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms, and if they stand the battle no quarters whatever will be given."

Colonel Greene the American officer in command replied that they did not ask for quarters and would not give any.

The Hessians then came on and made a terrific onslaught upon the fort, and so close was the conflict for some time that some of the dead bodies of the Hessians that were left upon the ground, were found with the flesh penetrated by the wadding of the guns. The result was, however, that the Americans were triumphantly victorious. The Hessians were driven back headlong. Their commander, Count Donop, and many hundred of the men were killed, and the rest fled in confusion.

It was substantially the same with Fort Mifflin, though this last was built upon an island, and was accordingly attacked by ships of war from the river. The ships had passed down the Chesapeake and up the Delaware for this purpose. There were two frigates and some other vessels. The attack, however, totally failed. The fire from the fort was so heavy that the ships could not endure it. One of the frigates was struck with a red hot shot from the fort, and was set on fire. In the confusion, which this occasioned, the ship drifted upon a sand bank, where at length the fire reached the magazine and the ship was blown up, producing a tremendous explosion.

Not long afterward the other frigate was struck and destroyed in the same manner, and then the rest of the vessels withdrew down the river, leaving the Americans for a time in undisputed possession of the forts.

FINAL REDUCTION OF THE FORTS.

The Americans, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of their victory. It was almost absolutely essential to the British army in Philadelphia, that the passage up the river from the sea for their ships should be opened, and General Howe, finding that the assaults failed, immediately commenced a sys-

tem of measures more deliberate but more sure He advanced cautiously and erected formidable batteries for cannonading the forts. He cut new channels among the islands below, and brought up through them a great number of ships of war, and gun boats armed and equipped especially for the service. At length, on the 10th of November, two or three weeks after the first assaults had been made, his preparations were complete and he opened fire. The bombardment was continued for ten days. The garrisons made desperate efforts to maintain their ground, but their efforts were unavailing. For a time they repaired at night, as well as they could, the damage done by day, but they soon became exhausted with these efforts. The ramparts were breached and battered on every side, guns were dismounted, magazines were blown up, and at length both forts, first Fort Mifflin and then Fort Mercer, were compelled to surrender. Most of the men made their escape, and a number of American vessels that were lying above the forts succeeded in stealing past Philadelphia on a dark night and so avoiding capture. Others that could not thus be saved were set on fire and abandoned.

The British immediately dismantled and destroyed the forts, removed the obstructions from

the river, and then their ships at once came up to town.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

General Washington, after having been thus compelled to yield the ground to the enemy, spent some weeks in reassembling and reorganizing his forces, repairing damages, making arrangements for procuring supplies, and also in considering the feasibility of an attack upon the British in Philadelphia, or of some other hostile operations against them during the time that remained of the season. He finally concluded that there was nothing more that could be done, and that it only remained for him to make arrangements for going into winter quarters in some convenient spot where he might keep his army together until spring.

For this purpose he wished to find some place that would at once afford shelter from the cold and the storms of the winter, and at the same time one that could be easily made defensible against the enemy. It was necessary also that it should be in some convenient position not very far from the city, where he could watch the operations of the enemy, prevent his obtaining supplies from the country around, and protect the inhabitants from any hostile excursions that he might undertake.

He chose finally a place called Valley Forge, which, as will be seen by the map, is on the west side of the Schuylkill, twenty-five or thirty miles from Philadelphia.

DESTITUTE CONDITION OF THE TROOPS.

The condition of the American army on its arrival at Valley Forge, which was about the middle of December, when the winter was already beginning to set in, was pitiable in the extreme. The soldiers were almost entirely destitute of clothes, shoes, food, fuel, and of almost everything else necessary not merely for comfort, but for existence. One of the most trying of their wants was that of covering for their feet. Their shoes were worn out, and there were no means of procuring fresh supplies. Multitudes of men were barefooted, and the last twenty miles of their march to Valley Forge was marked by a long bloody track through the snow. Washington made exertions to procure some sort of protection to the feet of his men by moccasons made of raw hides, but notwithstanding all that could be done the destitution and suffering were extreme.

THE DARKEST PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

In fact this season and the winter which fol-

lowed it, that is the winter of 1777-1778, was in some respect the darkest period in the history of the revolution, or rather it was the period of the greatest difficulty and distress though not that of the greatest discouragement or danger. The capture of Burgoyne's army had indeed greatly encouraged and inspirited the country, and it had laid the foundation, as has already been stated, for a treaty with the French government, which resulted in the following spring in the sending out from France of an expedition which gave to the cause of independence very able and efficient support. But none of these substantial advantages of Gates's victory had yet been realized, and in the meantime the resources of congress were exhausted, the troops had consumed all their stores and supplies, the country was distracted by conflicts between the partisans of the different leading generals, and the cause seemed to be on the brink of ruin.

THE ENCAMPMENT AT VALLEY FORGE.

Washington bore up against the difficulties of his situation with a firmness and perseverance truly heroic. As soon as the army reached the camping ground at Valley Forge he commenced the building of a regular system of log huts to furnish shelter during the winter both for officers and men.

The men were divided into parties of twelve, each party being supplied with proper tools, and all those whose remaining clothes were sufficient to allow of their exposing themselves in the open wintry air were sent into the forests around to procure the necessary materials and drag them to the camp. The camp itself was laid out regularly like the streets of a city, with a place allotted to each hut. The huts were fourteen feet by sixteen in dimension. The sides were built of logs, the roofs of rude slabs or planks formed by splitting straight grained logs by means of axes and wedges. There was a fireplace in each hut but it was built of wood, no other material being at hand. The sides of the fireplace were guarded from the effects of the heat by being plastered over thickly with clay, a protection which would have been wholly insufficient for any but the very low and smouldering fires which were all that the resoures of the camp could afford.

There was wood in the forests, it is true, but there were few tools to cut it, and no beasts of burden to bring it in. During the winter the men were often compelled to yoke themselves together and draw, on rude sleds which they made themselves, the necessary supplies for the camp, or to load them as burdens upon their backs. To per-

form such services moreover, they were obliged to borrow each other's shoes and clothes.

There was great difficulty too in procuring supplies even for these miserable modes of transportation. A great number of the farmers in the neighborhood were British "sympathizers," and would not sell their produce at any rate. Others refused to take the congressional paper money, —the greenbacks of those days—which constituted the only circulating medium. In consequence of these and other causes the soldiers were reduced in the course of the winter to a condition of scarcity little short of absolute famine.

The army continued to occupy this encampment, with very little alleviation of their condition, during the whole of the winter of 1777-8. Washington felt for them very acutely, and often expressed wonder at the patience and fortitude with which they bore their privations and sufferings. He himself was incessantly occupied in efforts to obtain supplies, and to relieve the wants of his men. For a time, until they were somewhat comfortably sheltered in their huts, he lived among them in a tent, but when the huts were finished he made his head-quarters in a small farm-house near by.

The whole number of men that were thus en-

camped at Valley Forge was about twelve thousand, of whom, however, nearly one quarter were at the beginning unfit for duty from the effects of exhaustion, sickness, or want, and this number became largely increased as the winter went on. Before the spring came, however, their hearts were cheered by the news which arrived of the treaty which had been made with France, and new and buoyant hopes arose in their minds of better times soon to come.

ALARM OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

For, in the meantime, while the American armies were enduring these sufferings, the negotiations with France referred to in the last chapter were going on, and at length, by midwinter, a treaty was signed, and preparations at once began to be made for sending out a fleet from France, in the spring, to render the Americans the necessary aid. These proceedings alarmed the English government exceedingly. They immediately began to make vigorous efforts for conciliating the colonies, as they still termed them, and effecting a peace before the French should have time to interfere. They passed various bills, the purport of which was to grant to the Americans all that they had asked for at the beginning of the war, and they appointed a board

of commissioners to come to America and endeavor to persuade the people to lay down their arms and give up the plan of independence, on condition of having all their other demands substantially complied with.

TOO LATE.

But after hearing these proposals and calmly considering them, the Americans replied that it was too late. They could not now listen to any proposals for peace, that were not based on an acknowledgment of their independence.

EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

As the spring drew near, the British general, Sir Henry Clinton, who in the course of the winter had taken the place of General Howe as the officer in command at Philadelphia, began to fear that the French fleet which was expected to arrive on the coast before long, might enter the Delaware, and so shut him in and cut off his supplies; and that then Washington might increase his forces on the land side so as to surround him entirely and perhaps capture his whole army. He accordingly determined to evacuate Philadelphia and march back through New Jersey to New York. He kept his plans so profoundly secret, however, that Wash-

ington had no knowledge of his intentions, until one day about the middle of June he heard that the British general had actually crossed the Delaware with all his army and commenced his march to the northward. Washington immediately set out with his whole force in pursuit of him.

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

Washington crossed the Delaware at or near Trenton, the British army being to the eastward between him and the sea. Washington's forces had been largely augmented during the spring, and bodies of militia too were rising in various parts of the country, and hastening to join him, so that the British were considerably outnumbered, and were in great danger of being surrounded and cut off. They, however, pushed on as rapidly as possible, the Americans following them closely, hovering upon their left flank, harassing their march, and crowding them toward the sea. At length the two armies reached Monmouth,* where the British were brought to bay, and an obstinate and bloody battle was fought,—one of the most celebrated of the battles of the war.

The day on which the battle of Monmouth was

* See Map at the commencement of Chapter V.

fought was Sunday the 28th of June. The sky was cloudless, the air was calm, and the sun was so hot that nearly sixty of the British soldiers died during the day from the heat and the fatigue which they endured, without being wounded at all. Many of the Americans perished in the same way.

The battle was not decisive though the British troops suffered the heaviest losses. When night came the Americans lay down upon their arms, in the field, to sleep, intending to renew and finish their work on the following day. But when morning came they found that the British army had disappeared. They had stolen away secretly and silently in the night, and before they could be overtaken they made their way to Sandy Hook, where they found a fleet of transports ready to receive them, and convey them to New York.

RE-POSSESSION OF PHILADELPHIA.

Of course the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops left the city open again to the Americans, and General Washington sent a small body of troops to take possession of it. He also appointed General Arnold military governor of the city and placed him in command.

General Arnold had been wounded in the battles

fought with Burgoyne just before his surrender, and on that account was not able to go into active service in the field; and although he was known to be a very unprincipled man, still he had acted in so brave and energetic a manner, and had rendered such essential service to the American cause on many occasions, that General Washington thought it right to nominate him to this post.

ARNOLD A BAD BOY.

Although General Arnold had an excellent mother, he seems in early life to have been a bad boy, and he exhibited when quite young those traits of desperate and daring recklessness, which afterward made him so renowned. At one time he and the other boys got possession of an old cannon which had been spiked and could not be fired in the usual way, so they set it up on end in the ground, like a post, and then after loading it Arnold fired it by droppping a burning coal into the muzzle. At another time when he and the other boys had stolen some barrels to make a bonfire, and a constable or a policeman came after them to take the barrels away, Arnold fell into a great rage, threw off his jacket, doubled up his fists, and dared the constable to fight him.

When he was a young man his sister was en-

gaged to be married to a Frenchman whom he disliked, and Arnold ordered him not to come to the house. The Frenchman paid no attention to this warning and so when he did come Arnold shot at him with a pistol, and the Frenchman barely escaped with his life by leaping out of the window.

ARNOLD A GOOD SOLDIER.

Unfortunately a bad man often makes a very good soldier, and Arnold, though he seems to have become more and more reckless and unprincipled as he grew up, yet, when he finally joined the American army, became a very efficient and energetic officer, and was always ready to engage in the most daring and desperate undertakings. It is true he was very insubordinate and unmanageable, and was continually getting himself into difficulty with those around him, whether above or beneath him in rank. Still, with all his faults, he had on many occasions shown so much bravery, and had evinced such ardor and zeal in the American cause, that Washington thought it best to give him the post of governor of Philadelphia, since, while performing the duties of that office he could remain in a state of comparative repose, until his wound should be healed.

Arnold's residence, in Philadelphia, in fulfilment of this appointment, became subsequently quite memorable in American history from the fact that his defection from the cause of his countrymen, and his going over to the British under circumstances which made him so renowned as the great American traitor, probably originated in events that occurred then and there.

HIS MARRIAGE.

One of these events was his marriage with a lady who was the daughter of a Philadelphia merchant, and who, with all her family, had given her sympathies entirely to the British side in this quarrel. The name of the lady was Margaret Shippen. She was Arnold's second wife, and was much younger than her husband. He seemed to become devotedly attached to her, but the marriage excited much surprise and some displeasure among Arnold's American friends, for not only was her father a strong partisan of the English, but she herself personally had evinced a very decided sympathy for the royalist cause. She had taken a very active part in the festivities with which the tory families of Philadelphia had welcomed General Howe when he entered Philadelphia in the preceding autumn, and also in the farewell parties

given to the British officers when the army went away in the spring. The other American officers, who had not yet had time to forget the dreadful exposures and sufferings they had endured during their winter in Valley Forge, were not a little indignant that their commander should choose for his wife a fashionable belle, who, while they were enduring such terrible extremes of want and privation in their encampment, was lavishing her blandishments upon their enemies, and the enemies of their country, in the city from which they had been expelled.

ARNOLD'S PECUNIARY DIFFICULTIES.

Another circumstance, which, it was supposed, conspired with the influence of his wife to lead Arnold to the commission of the great crime of which he was afterward guilty, was the extravagant style of living which he adopted in Philadelphia, and the consequent hopeless pecuniary embarrassment in which he became involved. It is a long story, which cannot be here related in full, but the substance of it is that he took a large and splendid mansion, kept servants in livery and a coach in four, and gave splendid parties and entertainments of all kinds. To raise money for these purposes he resorted to various malpractices in his government, which led

to charges being made against him on which he was tried and condemned by a court-martial. His sentence was to be reprimanded. Washington administered the reprimand in the most gentle and considerate manner, but the result of the whole affair was to exasperate Arnold and prepare him for the course which he subsequently pursued. His defection, however, did not actually take place till about two years after this time.

HIS FINAL PLAN.

The reason for this delay seems to have been that Arnold could not succeed any sooner in placing himself in a situation to make his treason sufficiently advantageous to the British to enable them to pay the high price which he demanded for it. Of course the value of the reward which he could expect for going over to the enemy would depend upon the nature and extent of the advantages which he could secure to them by his defection, and the plan which, after mature deliberation, Arnold resolved upon was to procure for himself the appointment of commander of the post of West Point,* which was then simply a strong fortress among the highlands on the Hudson River about

* See map at the commencement of Chapter II.

fifty miles from New York. The British had possession of the lower part of the river and had their ships of war at anchor there, while the Americans held the country above. The fortress at West Point, and some others among the Highlands near it and dependent upon it, formed the chief obstacle to the advance of the British in that direction, and Arnold thought that if he could obtain the command of that fortress he might make excellent terms with the British for delivering it into their hands, since that would give them the command of the river, and open the way for them to penetrate far into the interior of the state.

During all the while that he had been forming these plans he had been in secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, who was the commander-in-chief of the British forces at this time, and had undoubtedly acted with his concurrence in everything which he had done. The communications were carried on through Major Andre, a young English officer who had formed a particular friendship with his wife in Philadelphia, before her marriage, and had continued the friendship subsequently by correspondence.

At length after much manœuvring and many earnest solicitations, accompanied with the most zealous professions of devotedness to the American

cause, Arnold succeeded in the summer of 1780 in obtaining his appointment as commander of the fortress of West Point, and of all its dependencies on the banks of the river below; and he immediately commenced his negotiations and arrangements for surrendering the whole into the hands of the British general.

THE NEGOTIATION.

It was necessary to manage the correspondence and the negotiations with the utmost caution and secresy. In bargainings for treason and fraud, of course, neither party can place the least reliance upon the honor of the other, and Clinton could not know but that Arnold was arranging some deep-laid stratagem to entrap *him*. At length, however, after a great deal of management and manœuvring and many mysterious letters under feigned names sent to and fro, a personal interview was appointed between Andre and Arnold at a retired place on the bank of the river just below the American lines, in order finally to agree upon the terms and close the bargain. Arnold came down the river by land, and Andre was brought up from one of the English men-of-war in a boat which Arnold sent down for him under a flag of truce, which pretended to have some other errand.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN ARNOLD AND ANDRE.

THE MEETING.

The meeting took place at night in a very solitary place near a small creek or cove which here opened from the river. The boat which had brought Andre to the place remained in the cove ready to take him back again. The man who had accompanied Arnold waited too, in a thicket near, with two horses—one for himself and one for the general, ready to take him up the river again to his quarters among the forts, after the conference was ended.

ANDRE BECOMES A SPY.

Thus far Andre had incurred no special risk excepting that of being captured and so made a prisoner of war, for he was yet without the American lines. He wore his uniform, but it was covered with a cloak. But for some reason or other the conference was protracted so long that the morning came before it was concluded. There were in fact still a great many details to be arranged. Finally, after much doubt and hesitation, Andre allowed himself to be persuaded to mount one of the horses and proceed with Arnold up the river a few miles to a certain house, where they could complete the business with more security.

In doing this Andre had to pass the post sentinels that marked the American lines, and by that act became a spy, subject, if taken, to be hanged instead of being treated as a prisoner of war.

CONCLUSION OF THE STORY.

The sad termination of this story—sad so far as poor Andre was concerned, but joyous and triumphant for the American cause—is well known. In the course of the day the negotiations were all completed, and the necessary papers put into Andre's hands, and by him ingeniously concealed in his boots. He set out on his return, but found when he came to the place where he was to embark in the boat, that the British ship had been fired upon by some batteries on the shore, and forced to go down the river. The boatmen refused to follow her down. Andre was then compelled to undertake to make his way down to New York by land, and he crossed the river in order to go down on the eastern side. He went on very safely until he reached the very last of the American outposts, but there he was stopped by the picket guard, searched and arrested. By the papers which were found upon his person the whole plot was discovered, but before General Washington had time to take measures for the arrest of Arnold he made his escape. The forts

however and strongholds which he had intended to betray, were saved.

EXECUTION OF MAJOR ANDRE.

Very great efforts were made by the British government to save Major Andre's life, and even the Americans almost universally pitied his hard fate, and wished that he might be spared. But the authorities decided, after full and careful consideration of the case, that the stern demands of military necessity required that he should die, and he was accordingly executed.

ARNOLD.

As for Arnold, the British government in their reception and treatment of him, felt bound to reward the intended treachery, though they despised the man. They gave him a commission in their army, and paid him fifty thousand dollars in money. He fought several campaigns afterward against the Americans, but was an object of contempt and aversion wherever he went, and after drifting about the world for some years universally despised, he died at last in the West Indies. His memory is utterly execrated by the Americans, and is regarded as infamous by all mankind.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR AT THE SOUTH.

RETURN FROM A DIGRESSION.

THE attempt of Benedict Arnold to betray and deliver up West Point and its dependencies to the British commanders did not take place until near the close of the year 1780, and was accordingly narrated somewhat in anticipation in the last chapter, on account of its connection with the circumstances that occurred while Arnold was governor of Philadelphia, after the evacuation of that city in the spring of 1778. We now return to the main thread of our narrative, and proceed to relate the principal events connected with the campaigns of the British armies in the more southern states, particularly those of South Carolina and Georgia, in the years 1778 and 1779.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTRY.

There could scarcely be a greater contrast between any two countries than that which existed

between the northern and southern colonies at the time of the revolution,—and which in fact continues undiminished to the present day. The contrast was equally great in relation to the character of the country and to the occupations, manners and ideas of the people. All along the seaboard, and for many miles into the interior, the land is low and level, and is intersected in every direction by sluggish and meandering creeks, into which the sea ebbs and flows, and which form along the coast innumerable islands, which, though but little higher than the sea, and with a surface little less level, are extraordinarily fertile and beautiful. Here and there vast tracts lying a little below the general level become swamps and morasses, which in their natural state are filled with an impassable maze of tangled thickets, interspersed with pools of stagnant water, but when cleared, drained and cultivated, form rice fields of great value; while the more firm and drier portions produce a kind of cotton of a fibre so long and strong, and of such silken softness and lustre, that nothing but silk itself can rival it, and which can be grown successfully in no other country on the globe.

CHARLESTON AND SAVANNAH.

The most important centres of wealth and popu-

lation in all those regions, were in those days, as now, Charleston in South Carolina and Savannah in Georgia. They are both situated near the mouths of rivers flowing sluggishly into the sea, and are surrounded by tracts of level and often of low and marshy lands, which form the rice and cotton plantations. These lands are intersected every where by inlets from the sea and meandering creeks, which meeting and crossing each other form a complicated net-work of canal-like channels, through which the rivers from the interior issue, and the sea ebbs and flows continually, and which by their connections and intersections completely insulate innumerable portions of the land, and in a great measure supply the place of roads as means of intercourse and traffic between the different plantations.

EXPEDITION OF 1778.

There were certain military operations, of comparatively subordinate importance, undertaken by the British against the southern country in an early period of the war, which however cannot be her particularly described. The first undertaking that led to any decided results was an expedition which was sent out from New York for the capture of Savannah and Charleston, in the fall of 1778, not long

after the evacuation of Philadelphia, as related in the last chapter.

The expedition was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. It consisted of a land force of about two thousand men, and a small squadron of vessels of war. It was expected that the principal operations would be by land,—but a few vessels of war accompanied the expedition, both for the purpose of rendering such co-operation to the land force as might be required, and also to serve as convoy to the transports in which the soldiers were conveyed.

The expedition sailed from New York near the end of November, and the fleet was about four weeks in making the passage. Such a squadron of course proceeds very slowly on account of the hindrances and delays occasioned by the necessity of keeping together. The speed of the slowest and most sluggish of the vessels must necessarily regulate the progress of all the rest.

The ships arrived off the mouth of the Savannah iver very near the end of December, where they were stopped by the vast series of shoals and sand banks which gather around the outlet of the river, and form what is called the bar. Here they were detained nearly another week before the condition

of the weather and the tide were such as to make it safe for them to attempt to go in.

PREPARATIONS OF THE AMERICANS.

In the meantime the alarm had been given and the city of Savannah and the people of the surrounding country were thrown into a state of confusion and dismay. They were ill prepared to meet and repel such an enemy. The country was very thinly inhabited, and the population consisted moreover in great proportion of blacks who could not be trusted with arms. It was obviously not to be expected that a community like this could by any means produce, on a sudden call, such an uprising as that of the twenty thousand men who seized their arms and rushed to the environs of Boston on the alarm given by the battle of Lexington.

What was possible however was promptly done. There was a small force of about seven hundred men at Sunbury, thirty miles to the southward. These hastened at once to Savannah. Couriers were immediately despatched to Charleston in South Carolina to call for all the troops from that province that could be spared. Every effort was made too, though without much success, to procure men from the surrounding country.

EXCITEMENT IN SAVANNAH.

In the city itself all was excitement and confusion. The archives of the government and all the public records were sent into the interior for safety. Many of the aged and infirm, and also of the women and children, were conveyed away, as well as such valuables belonging to private persons, as could be easily removed. The able-bodied men formed themselves into working parties, and commenced the construction of batteries, redoubts and other means of defence below the city. The American general, who was a North Carolinian, named Robert Howe, was earnest and indefatigable in his efforts to perfect the organization of his men, to increase their numbers by recruits from the interior, and to complete his arrangements and preparations. He could obtain, however, from the country only an addition of about two hundred to his numbers, so that when at length the British fleet succeeded in passing over the bar, and were coming up the river, he had a force of only about nine hundred men to oppose to them. The number of men under Colonel Campbell's command was over three thousand.

THE OPPOSING FORCES CONFRONT EACH OTHER.

Perhaps if the Americans had known how vastly

superior to theirs the force was which was advancing to attack them, they would have given up all hope of defending the city, and would have undertaken only to save their little army by a timely retreat. But Colonel Campbell had carefully concealed the amount of his force, and the American troops were accordingly brought down to make a stand against him. They were posted in line of battle below the city, the line being protected as much as possible by the intrenchments and other works which had been hastily constructed.

Colonel Campbell after some brief preliminary operations advanced with his main force toward this line. The Americans now for the first time perceived how formidable the force was with which they had to contend. They held a serious consultation on the question whether they should not retreat and abandon the town. They decided that it was too late to do this, and that nothing now remained for them but to take the chances of battle.

A STRATAGEM.

Colonel Campbell had advanced with his forces directly toward the American lines, as if his intention had been to attack them openly in front,—but he really entertained another design. He had learned in some way that there was an obscure path-

way leading by a circuitous route among the swamps, and along the borders of the creeks and rice fields, by which a detachment might move secretly and gain the rear of the American army, so as not only to attack them in that quarter unexpectedly and simultaneously with the attack in front, and thus throw them into confusion, but also to cut off their retreat into the city in case of their defeat. He succeeded in procuring the services of a negro to guide the detachment along this path. The name of the negro was Quamino Dolly.

THE CAPTURE OF SAVANNAH.

The plan thus formed was carried into execution and was entirely successful. The Americans soon discovered the double danger which threatened them and commenced a retreat. The only road by which they could reach Savannah traversed a swamp by means of a causeway. When they reached the causeway they found the enemy already there. A part succeeded in making their way over, before the preparations of the British to intercept them were complete. Others attempted to make their escape across the creeks and through the rice fields and swamps, and some who could swim succeeded, but of the rest great numbers were drowned, or were arrested in their progress by sinking in the mire and

were made prisoners. Those who succeeded in making their escape over the causeway were hotly pursued by the British into the town, and many of them were overtaken and bayoneted in the streets. The soldiers, in the mad excitement of their victory, for a time went on killing all whom they met, whether combatants or not, and several of the citizens who had taken no part in the hostilities were slain. Colonel Campbell however, as soon as he arrived, put an end to these outrages, and gave efficient protection to the persons and property of the inhabitants.

RETREAT OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

In the course of the conflict and of the flight nearly half of the American army were either killed or taken prisoners, or drowned in the creeks and morasses. The loss of the British was only about thirty.

The remnant of the Americans fled in extreme disorder into the interior, following the banks of the river Savannah, at the mouth of which the city stands. After going on for about eight miles, all in a state of hopeless confusion, they came to a ferry, where the men were rallied and some degree of order was restored, and then they crossed the river into

South Carolina. The river here forms the boundary line.

THE STATE ENTIRELY SUBDUED.

There were two other military posts of importance in the state, one at Sunbury and the other at Augusta. Expeditions were immediately sent out by the British general against these, and both were taken with very little resistance. The leading friends of independence throughout the state abandoned their homes and made their escape into South Carolina, and the mass of the inhabitants that remained having no means of continuing the struggle—a large proportion of them, in fact, having no inclination to do it—quietly submitted to their fate, and Georgia was considered as fully subdued.

Or rather the portion of the people that were the friends of the cause of independence were subdued, for the people were so nearly divided in opinion that the worst of their sufferings during the whole period of the war resulted from their partisan conflicts among themselves. When Augusta was attacked, a body of volunteers from North and South Carolina marched to co-operate with the British in attacking it, four times as large as the whole force that could be raised from the surrounding country to aid General Howe in defending Savannah.

Vigorous efforts were subsequently made by the Americans to recover possession of the state, and although they met with partial successes at certain points in the interior, on the whole their attempts failed, and Georgia remained substantially under British rule until the conclusion of the war.

ATTACK UPON CHARLESTON REPULSED.

In the course of the spring of 1780, as soon as the British felt that their possession of Georgia was secure, they sent a strong force along the coast to attack Charleston, as a preliminary step to the subjugation of South Carolina. The enterprise, however, did not succeed. General Lincoln was at this time in command of the American forces at the south, and he was in the interior engaged in gathering and organizing troops, when the British expedition arrived before Charleston. The people of the city, as soon as they heard of the approach of the enemy, engaged vigorously in the work of throwing up fortifications on the land side, and of garrisoning and strengthening the forts that protected the harbor. For a few days after the British troops arrived before the town, and while General Lincoln was making his preparations to come to their aid, they were in imminent danger. But they held their ground with great resolution and spirit, and

before the British were prepared for making an assault General Lincoln arrived with a force much superior to theirs, and they accordingly abandoned the siege and made the best of their way back to Savannah.

A NEW AND GRAND EXPEDITION ORGANIZED.

During the summer of 1780 there was no essential change, except that the country appeared to be falling more and more completely under British rule. Great numbers of the people of the interior, especially of the wealthy planters, took the oath of allegiance to the king, and accepted of "protections" from the British generals. Charleston however held out, and General Lincoln still kept the field at the head of a considerable force, which he made every possible effort to increase and strengthen.

At length in the fall of the year, after the sickly season had passed, the British authorities in New York made arrangements for organizing an expedition which they intended should be amply sufficient to secure the accomplishment of the object which they had in view,—namely, to capture Charleston and thus complete the subjugation of the whole southern country. Sir Henry Clinton himself took command of the expedition. The fleet, which consisted both of transports for conveying troops and

ships of war to co-operate in the attack upon the town, was under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot.

The force which Clinton took with him on this expedition consisted of seven thousand men.

STORMY PASSAGE OF THE FLEET.

It was late in the season when the expedition sailed from New York, and the fleet encountered heavy storms, and met with serious disasters on the passage. Some of the vessels were wrecked on the coast. Others that had become separated from the rest were captured by the French or American cruisers that were hovering about in those seas. The fleet was in fact so beaten about and so much damaged that it became necessary to proceed first to Savannah to refit before commencing operations before Charleston.

At length, however, the damages were repaired and the expedition sailed again from Savannah, and arrived off Charleston harbor in February, 1780. The troops were immediately landed, a camp was formed, and preparations were commenced for advancing upon Charleston.

SLOW ADVANCE OF THE ARMY.

The ground being low and level and everywhere

intersected by creeks and inlets from the sea, and by swamps and morasses, the operations of the invading army were necessarily much retarded. Several weeks passed in fact before they actually reached the environs of the city. During all this time the city itself and the whole surrounding country were in a state of great excitement and commotion. Everything possible was done to provide means for defending the place. Slaves were impressed from the surrounding plantations and set at work, under the direction of engineers, to construct fortifications. Old vessels were sunk to obstruct the channels in the rivers at the junction of which Charleston is built, in order to prevent the enemy from taking their ships of war above the town and so cutting off their communications with the surrounding country,—and every effort was made to raise troops and bring them in from the interior to strengthen the garrison.

EMBARRASSMENT OCCASIONED BY THE SLAVES.

The chief reliance of the Americans for the defence of the city was on the continental army under the command of General Lincoln, for very little could be done in raising troops from the surrounding country. Indeed the state authorities had represented to Congress that they could raise very few

men among themselves on account of the great number of citizens which it was necessary to retain at home to prevent insurrections among the slaves, or desertions of the slaves to the enemy. Congress then proposed that a force should be raised from among the slaves themselves by enlisting a certain number, training them as soldiers, and joining them to the army. They offered to pay one thousand dollars for each slave so enlisted, as compensation to his owner, and proposed to promise the man his freedom at the end of the war as an inducement to fidelity. But the planters would not accede to any such proposal.

THE SIEGE.

The operations of the British fleet and army in gaining possession, step by step, of the intervening territory between the place of their landing and the town, and of the surrounding waters, occupied many weeks, during which time a great many movements and manœuvres, and several subordinate conflicts occurred, which cannot here be particularly related. The Americans defended themselves with bravery and disputed every advance. They made great exertions to keep their communications open with the interior, so as to continue to receive supplies and reinforcements. But all their efforts were

unavailing. The progress of the British, though slow and interrupted, was irresistible, and at length, on the arrival of large reinforcements from New York, they forced their way over the land and cut off the roads leading into the country; and then drawing their lines gradually in, they invested the city closely on every side. Their batteries were now so near that the city was exposed to an incessant cannonading, and bombs, carcasses and red hot shot fell continually into the streets and among the houses. General Lincoln at last sent out a flag of truce to ask for conditions of surrender.

THE TERMS OFFERED.

The terms which were offered appeared to the besieged to be very hard. They were that the garrison and the citizens should be surrendered as prisoners of war, and all the forts and batteries, with the ordnance, ammunition and military stores of every kind which they contained, and also all the shipping that remained in the harbor, should be given up to the British commander. Clinton promised however that the prisoners should be released on parole, and that the private property of the citizens should be respected.

It was scarcely reasonable perhaps, considering the circumstances of the case, to complain of these

terms. General Lincoln hoped however that on his surrendering the place he might be allowed to withdraw with his troops,—thus saving his army though losing the town. To this, however, Clinton would not agree; so the negotiations were broken off and hostilities were resumed.

THE BOMBARDMENT.

That same night at eight o'clock the British batteries opened fire upon the town, and a most awful scene of terror and devastation ensued. The fire continued all that night, and a dreadful night it was. The moon was full and the stars were shining when the cannonading commenced, but the sky was soon mantled with a lurid canopy of suffocating smoke, in the midst of which hissing bombs were seen flying in all directions like fiery meteors, and bursting everywhere—sometimes in the air and sometimes in the streets and among the houses—with terrific explosions. The horrors of the scene were increased by the frequent blowing up of ammunition chests and temporary magazines among which the shells and carcasses fell, and the occasional bursting of a great gun,—and by the groans of wounded and dying soldiers and citizens as their mangled bodies were borne away from the places where they fell.

THE SURRENDER.

This dreadful work continued through that night and all the next day, but just before dawn of the second day the civil authorities united in requesting General Lincoln to give up the contest. The signal of surrender was accordingly made and the firing ceased. The hard terms of the British general were now submitted to, and the town, with all the soldiers and citizens, the fortifications around it, the guns, ammunition and public stores of every kind fell unconditionally into the conqueror's hands.

COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES.

The capture of Charleston was speedily followed by the almost complete submission of the whole state. This result having been attained, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command of the whole southern department, with a force of about four or five thousand men. The plan formed was that with this force, and with such reinforcements as he could obtain from the royalist portion of the people, he was to march northward, into North Carolina and Virginia, to re-establish the royal authority there—a work which both Sir Henry Clinton and himself supposed could now be accomplished with very little difficulty.

CHAPTER X.

PEACE.

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

It has been stated in a preceding chapter that after the surrender of Burgoyne, and of all his army, on the banks of the Hudson River, in the autumn of 1777, the French government, which had previously rendered the Americans some secret aid, now entered into a formal treaty of friendship and alliance with them, and openly espoused their cause.

This treaty was made in the winter of 1777–8, and in the following summer a fleet of French ships came over, bringing with them a considerable body of troops to aid the Americans in carrying on the war. This expedition was followed by others in succeeding years, and the American cause derived very essential advantage, in various ways, from the co-operation thus afforded. The land forces joined those of the Americans in many of their enterprises, and often rendered them very essential aid, and the presence of their ships of war on the coast, and in

NEWS OF PEACE IN CAMP.

the neighboring seas, seriously embarrassed the movements of the British fleets, and often greatly restricted their operations.

DIFFICULTIES.

After all, however, the aid afforded to the Americans by their French auxilaries in carrying on the war was not so effectual and decisive as might have been expected from the high position which France then, as now, occupied, as a naval and military power. Various causes operated to restrict and limit the benefit derived from the alliance. Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken there was not always a good understanding or perfect harmony of action, between the French and American officers.

The English, too, were stronger than the French at sea, and the French ships were often exposed to great danger, and sometimes were closely blockaded in an American port, where they even, in certain cases, required an American force to be detained a long time to assist in keeping the British ships out by acting as garrisons to forts and batteries commanding the approaches.

The movements of the French fleets, moreover, on the American coasts, were connected with, and often controlled by, certain operations going on in the West Indies, in which the Americans were not

directly interested. From these and various other causes the most that the Americans could do, for one or two years after the conquest of South Carolina and Georgia by the British, even with the help of their powerful allies, was to maintain their ground substantially in the other provinces, without making any decided progress toward expelling the invaders.

LAFAYETTE.

Of all the French officers, whether military or naval, who came to America to take part in the contest, the one whose services were most valuable was General Lafayette. He was a young French nobleman possessed of an ample fortune, and not quite nineteen years of age when the news of the declaration of independence by the Americans arrived in Paris, and young as he was, he was at once inspired with a feeling of the warmest and most devoted sympathy for the American cause. At the close of 1776, in what was perhaps the darkest period of our history, he resolved to come to America and personally aid in the contest; and he did so, leaving a young and beautiful wife of high rank and great fortune, to whom he was tenderly attached, and encountering a great deal of difficulty from the opposition made to his plans by the French

Government and by a wide circle of very influential relatives and friends. He devoted himself fully to the cause during the whole period of the war. An account of his adventures and exploits,—the sufferings that he endured and the efforts and sacrifices that he made, would fill volumes, and not even a summary of them can be given here. He will be looked upon by Americans in all coming generations to the end of time, as one of the chief founders of the republic.

ADVANCE OF LORD CORNWALLIS.

The reader will recollect that at the close of the last chapter we left Lord Cornwallis in command at the South, with instructions from General Clinton that after having completely re-established the old colonial system in South Georgia and South Carolina, he should march to the northward and reduce North Carolina and Virginia also to subjugation.

In the execution of this plan Cornwallis was engaged quite successfully, on the whole, in 1780 and 1781, in the prosecution of various military operations in North Carolina and Virginia. At length in the summer of 1781, after a series of conflicts and manœuvres in the middle of the State of Virginia, in which he was opposed principally by a

force under the command of Lafayette, he gathered his forces together in and around Yorktown—upon a territory which forms a sort of peninsula bounded, as will be seen by the map, by the rivers York and

James, and the waters of Chesapeake Bay—with a view of making that position a base for ulterior and more important operations.

THE POSITION.

The position was a very strong one. It was easily accessible from sea by the British ships, being near the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, and thus the most perfect facilities were afforded for receiving reinforcements and supplies. The rivers York and James bordered the territory on the north and south, and formed excellent lines of defence in those directions, while the principal town,—Yorktown—which contained all desirable facilities for landing troops, munitions of war and supplies, and also for the storage of goods and for the convenience and comfort of officers and men—was so situated as to be very easily and strongly fortified. Lord Cornwallis considered the position as on the whole combining all the advantages that he could desire, with a view to his future operations.

WASHINGTON.

While Cornwallis had been forming these plans, and taking possession of his post, Washington had been engaged in preparing for an attack upon New York, in hopes that with the aid of the French, who were now present in America in considerable force, he might recover possession of that city;—but on hearing of the position which Cornwallis had taken

up in Virginia, he conceived the idea of secretly abandoning his intention of attacking New York, and moving a large part of his force in a stealthy manner to the southward—while the French proceeded thither in the same way by sea—making a show all the time of continuing his preparations to attack New York, so as to keep the English fleets and armies as much as possible in the waters and on the banks of the Hudson. He hoped by this manœuvre to be able to surround and capture the whole of Lord Cornwallis's army before the English could send a force to rescue them.

This plan was immediately put into execution, and the stratagem was perfectly successful. So successful, in fact, was Washington in deceiving the English that at one time General Clinton sent orders to Cornwallis to despatch a portion of his troops to New York in order to assist in defending the city from the impending attack of the French and Americans upon it, and the men were actually embarked on board the transports at Yorktown. But on the arrival of a fresh body of Hessians in New York harbor the order was countermanded.

DIFFICULTIES.

Although the plan was in the end successful, very great difficulties were to be encountered in carrying

it into effect. It required a great deal of nice management and manœuvring to withdraw the troops from the vicinity of New York without exciting the suspicions of the British generals, and many adroit artifices were resorted to for the purpose of deceiving them. The troops too were unwilling to go. Of course their destination and the object which it was intended to accomplish were entirely concealed from them, and when they reached Philadelphia, and learned that they were to go still farther south, they were almost ready to mutiny. Their discontent was greatly increased by their destitute condition and their want of pay. The funds at the disposal of congress, and the national credit, were both entirely exhausted. The paper money which the government began to issue at the beginning of the war, and which had been their main reliance, had depreciated in value until it became entirely worthless and ceased to be used altogether; and now the only way by which the wants of the soldiers could be so far supplied as to induce them to go on, was by the efforts of private individuals to procure funds in specie. Lafayette himself bought a large quantity of hats, shoes and other articles of clothing, by means of his own private resources, for the use of his men.

MANŒUVRING OF THE FLEETS.

There were many movements and manœuvres of the French and English squadrons on the coast, the admirals on each side doing all in their power to discover and defeat each other's designs. These movements were connected and complicated with the operations in the West Indies, and with the convoying of fleets of merchantmen. Some collisions and partial conflicts took place, but the French succeeded in August in sending a squadron into the Chesapeake with transports conveying three thousand men. These troops were landed before the British could interfere. They soon formed a junction with the other troops, and all, including those that had been under Lafayette's command before, and those that had been marched from New York by land, amounting to sixteen thousand men, advanced on all the approaches leading to Cornwallis's position, and completely hemmed him in. Cornwallis's force was not more than half as large as that of his besiegers. They were all immediately concentrated in Yorktown and in the immediate environs, and began energetically to prepare for defending themselves there.

THE SIEGE.

They succeeded in maintaining their position for several weeks, in hopes that Clinton would send a

fleet to rescue them. But the French fleet in the Chesapeake was now so strong that considerable preparation was necessary to fit out an expedition of sufficient magnitude to accomplish the purpose. Clinton urged forward the work as fast as possible, and at length sailed from New York with a formidable fleet, and a force of seven thousand men. But he was too late. When he arrived off the capes of the Chesapeake he learned, to his inexpressible disappointment and chagrin, that Cornwallis had surrendered on the very day that his expedition sailed.

THE SURRENDER.

Lord Cornwallis had maintained his position as long as there was any hope, and had tried every possible means of extricating himself from the snare into which he had fallen. But the Americans and French were gaining ground every day. Their incessant cannonading was destroying his ramparts and dismounting his guns, and his own supply of ammunition was nearly exhausted. As a last desperate resort he determined to cross the river, with all his forces, in boats, cut through the American lines, and make his way to New York with the remnant that might escape the slaughter that would inevitably result from such an attempt.

He accordingly provided the boats and made

everything ready in the most secret manner, and at ten o'clock one night commenced the passage. The boats went over once, with a portion of the men but when they were returning a storm of wind and rain arose, so sudden and violent that the boats became entirely unmanageable, and the river, which was here about a mile wide, was turned into a raging sea, rendering all operations upon it with such frail craft utterly impossible.

The consequence was that many of the boats were carried down the river and lost. With the rest it was scarcely possible, after the storm abated a little, to bring back the men who had been taken over. The whole attempt was necessarily abandoned, and it could not be again resumed, since now all was discovered to the Americans, and most effectual measures would of course be taken to prevent any renewal of such an attempt.

No other course was now left to the British commander but to surrender. Articles of capitulation were finally drawn up and signed by both parties, and at an appointed day the whole British army, seven thousand men, marched out, piled their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides these land forces the British ships that were there, with all the naval stores, and fifteen hundred seamen, were given up to the French admiral.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

The surrender of Cornwallis took place on the 17th of October, 1781, and it virtually terminated the war. The treaty of peace, it is true, was not finally concluded until nearly a year after this time, and during the interval the armies on both sides remained in the field, and retained a hostile attitude toward each other; and some minor and comparatively unimportant military movements and operations took place. As soon, however, as the news of the loss of the British army arrived in England, the party there who had been opposed to the war, and had been inclined to take part with the Americans, was rapidly and largely increased, and though the king himself resisted the current as long as he could, there was at length carried in the house of commons, after an earnest struggle, a vote for an address to his majesty recommending that the war should be stopped. The ministry that had supported the war of course resigned, and the king was compelled to yield.

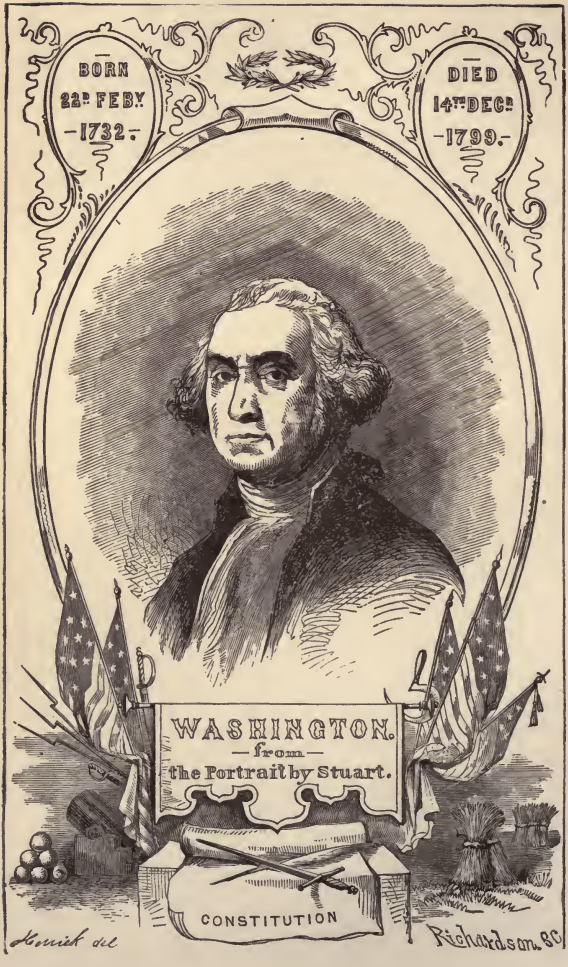
PEACE.

The new ministry immediately took measures for negotiating a treaty of peace, and the news was received in the American camps by the war-worn and exhausted soldiers, and among all the towns and

villages throughout the country, by the whole population, with unbounded joy.

The people had indeed great occasion to rejoice, for the means and resources of the government for carrying on the war, and even for keeping their armies in the field, were almost entirely gone, and the soldiers in all the camps were reduced nearly to the last stages of destitution and suffering. Still if the end had not been thus received the country would have aroused itself to new efforts and continued the struggle.

The position in which the treaty with Great Britain, acknowledging the independence of the United States, placed the country before the world, and the measures which Washington and the other leaders of the revolution adopted to establish and inaugurate a firm and consolidated government for the great people thus, for the first time, taking its place among the nations of the earth, will form the subject of the next and concluding volume of this series.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from
the Portrait by Stuart.
CONSTITUTION
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AMERICAN HISTORY

by

Jacob Abbott.

ILLUSTRATED
WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

Vol. VIII.
WASHINGTON.

New York:
Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.
13 Astor Place.

ABBOTT'S AMERICAN HISTORIES.

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PREFACE.

It is the design of this work to narrate, in a clear, simple, and intelligible manner, the leading events connected with the history of our country, from the earliest periods, down, as nearly as practicable, to the present time. The several volumes will be illustrated with all necessary maps and with numerous engravings, and the work is intended to comprise, in a distinct and connected narrative, all that it is essential for the general reader to understand in respect to the subject of it, while for those who have time for more extended studies, it may serve as an introduction to other and more copious sources of information.

The author hopes also that the work may be found useful to the young, in awakening in their minds an interest in the history of their country and a desire for further instruction in respect to it. While it is doubtless true that such a subject can

be really grasped only by minds in some degree mature, still the author believes that many young persons, especially such as are intelligent and thoughtful in disposition and character, may derive both entertainment and instruction from a perusal of these pages.

I have been greatly assisted in the preparation of the concluding volumes of this series by the vast stores of information in respect to the history of the American revolution collected with so much industry, and arranged and illustrated with so much accuracy, taste and skill, by Lossing, in his Field-Book of the Revolution. For felicity of description, copiousness and interest of detail, philosophic clearness of narration, and graphic power of delineation, both with pencil and pen, in picturing the scenes and incidents described, it stands at the head of works on the history of this country, and forms an inexhaustible treasury of useful and entertaining information in respect to the events, the actors, and the scenes, of revolutionary history, equally attractive to old and young.

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WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS.

THE FIVE PERIODS OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE.

THE life of George Washington, to which the remarkable succession of striking scenes and incidents which it presents, impart, in general, an extremely picturesque and dramatic character, resembled the dramas of the poets in this additional particular, namely, that it naturally divides itself into five quite distinct, and in some respects strongly contrasted, portions as follows.

1. The years of his childhood and youth.

2. His first public career as a civil and military officer in the service of the British and colonial authorities against the French and Indians in the valley of the Ohio.

3. A period of eighteen years of private life spent on his estate at Mount Vernon.

4. His military career during the war of the revolution.

5. The period of his civil services in the work of organizing and administering the government of the United States under the federal constitution.

It is with this last portion of the history of Washington that we have most to do in this volume, —considered as a continuation of the narrative of American History, which was brought by the last volume to the close of the war of the revolution. In order however to understand and appreciate the course which Washington pursued in the last great act of the drama, we must consider somewhat particularly the previous portions of his life, with a view of tracing the course of experience, discipline and trial by which he was prepared to pursue the line of action at the end of his career, which has given him the very exalted place he occupies in history, and made him the admiration of mankind.

BIRTHPLACE OF WASHINGTON.

George Washington lived, in his early childhood, with his father and mother and brothers and sisters, in an old fashioned Virginia farm house on the banks of the Potomac not far from its mouth. The house had a roof sloping behind almost down to the

ground, and the chimneys were built outside of it,—one at each end, against the wall, according to the fashion which then prevailed in Virginia. The building was old at the time of Washington's birth, and has long since entirely disappeared. A descendant of the family has however placed a large stone tablet upon the spot, which is marked with this inscription:

HERE,
The 11th of February, 1732,
GEORGE WASHINGTON
WAS BORN.

THE MOTHER OF WASHINGTON.

The Washington family removed from the house near the mouth of the Potomac where Washington was born, while he was yet a mere child, and went to live in another very similar house near the town of Fredericksburg. There, before many years, his father died, and Washington was left almost under the sole charge of his mother. She was a most excellent woman, and devoted all her time to the care and instruction of her children. She took the utmost pains to instill into their minds the principles of virtue, and to train them to habits of industry,

punctuality, and scrupulous faithfulness in the performance of every duty. It was to the training that this most excellent mother gave to her son that the full development of those exalted qualities of mind and heart which subsequently gave him so vast an ascendancy over the minds of his countrymen, was in a great measure due.

HIS SCHOOL.

The school which George attended when he was a boy, was of a very humble character. It was kept in a small country school-house by the wayside, not far from his mother's house. The teacher was the sexton of the parish. His name was Hobby. At this school Washington learned the elementary branches of education—reading, writing, arithmetic and accounts. His mother devoted a great deal of attention to him in respect to the preparation of his lessons, and trained him to the habit of taking great pains with every thing that he did, of fulfilling every allotted task to the very best of his ability, and of never allowing himself to carry in to his teacher any careless, hasty, or ill-executed work. So well indeed was his work done at this time that he and his mother felt an interest in preserving many of his books of school exercises, on account of their very neat and correct

appearance; and they have been kept to this day, and are now shown to visitors at Mount Vernon, among other mementos and souvenirs of the great statesman's life.

WASHINGTON'S BROTHER LAWRENCE.

The oldest of George's brothers was named Lawrence. He was strictly speaking only a half brother, as he was born during a previous marriage. He was also fourteen or fifteen years older than George, and so was never by any means a companion or playmate for him. Thus the relation that he sustained to George was more like that of an uncle than of a brother. He was however very fond of George and took great interest in his welfare. Being the oldest son, he was considered, according to the English ideas which then prevailed, as in some sense the head of the family, and was sent to England to be educated.

He returned from England when George was about seven or eight years old, and immediately formed a strong attachment to his little brother, and ever afterward, as long as he lived, took a great interest in him.

THE ESTATE AT MOUNT VERNON.

Not long after Lawrence Washington returned to Virginia, he joined the English army and went

to the West Indies, where a war was raging between England and Spain. The commanding officer of the squadron in which he served was Admiral Vernon, and Lawrence seems to have become strongly attached to him. The war did not continue long, and when peace was made Lawrence Washington returned to Virginia, to his brother George's great joy. He established himself upon an estate which he possessed on the banks of the Potomac, and named the place Mount Vernon, in honor of Admiral Vernon, the English officer under whom he had served in the West Indies.

This estate ultimately descended to his brother, the hero of this narrative, and has since become world renowned, and specially sacred in the minds of all Americans, as the home during his life and the place of sepulture after his death, of the father of his country.

Very soon after his establishment at Mount Vernon Lawrence Washington was married to Miss Anne Fairfax, the daughter of Sir William Fairfax, an English gentleman of wealth and high station, who resided upon an estate named Belvoir, which was situated on the banks of the Potomac some miles below Mount Vernon.*

* The place was so named from Belvoir Castle, one of the

THE FAIRFAX FAMILY.

Sir William Fairfax was the cousin of Lord Fairfax, an English nobleman, who had inherited an immense tract of land in Virginia which had been some years previously granted to his ancestors by the crown.

About the time of the marriage of Miss Anne Fairfax to Mr. Lawrence Washington, Lord Fairfax came himself to America to visit his estates. He was entirely at liberty to roam over the world as he pleased, being possessed of a large fortune and having no family. Indeed he was somewhat uneasy and discontented in England from the effect of a bitter disappointment in love which he had met with when a young man. On his arrival in Virginia he was greatly impressed with the magnificence of the country in general, and the grandeur of his own domains, which included a vast tract of charming ground lying between the rivers Potomac and Rappahanock. He took up his residence for a

most celebrated ancient castles of England, and one of the most magnificent at the present day. It is the residence of the Duke of Rutland, and is situated in the eastern part of the island on the confines of Lincolnshire. The name—originally a French one, given to the vale which the castle overlooks, and to the castle itself, by William the Conqueror, or by his Norman followers—has been anglicised in pronunciation, in modern times, into Beevor Castle, and Beevor Vale.

time at Belvoir, with his cousin Sir William, where he supplied himself with horses, dogs and handsome equipages, in the English style, and devoted himself to fishing, hunting and the other athletic sports of which English country gentlemen are so fond.

WASHINGTON'S CONNECTION WITH THE FAIRFAX FAMILY.

George Washington, who at this time resided frequently at his brother Lawrence's at Mount Vernon, was of course a frequent visitor at Belvoir, where both Lord Fairfax and Sir William became well acquainted with him, and he soon began to be quite a favorite with them, as it seems he was, even in those early days, with all who knew him. He used to accompany the gentlemen on their hunting expeditions, and often rendered them great service by his intimate knowledge of the country, and by the fertility of his resources in the various emergencies and exigencies of life in the woods. Although yet quite young, being at this time only about fifteen or sixteen years of age, he was well grown and strong. He was an excellent rider. He could easily manage any horse they gave him, and he galloped on after the game, over the most difficult and rugged ground, with so much courage and skill as greatly to please his older companions.

With all this he was extremely careful and considerate,—he took no useless risks, and evinced in his whole conduct and demeanor a degree of calmness and deliberation in all difficult and trying emergencies, and a soundness of judgment, above his years. Lord Fairfax became greatly interested in the young man, and strongly attached to him.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF VIRGINIA.

By carefully examining any map of Virginia with reference to the mountain chains and the flow of the rivers, the reader will observe that there are two ranges of mountains, or rather of mountainous country, extending from north-east to south-west in the interior of the state, and a wide valley between them. This valley is called the valley of the Shenandoah, from the river of that name which flows through it. This valley opens to the northward, where the Shenandoah empties into the Potomac.

The mountains on the east side of this valley are those of the Blue Ridge, while the west side of it is bounded by the ranges of the Alleghany mountains.

To the eastward of Blue Ridge the land slopes and the rivers flow toward the Atlantic Ocean, and to the west of the Alleghany Mountains the slope is toward the valley of the Ohio.

Thus the territory of Virginia consists of an eastern slope of land inclining toward the sea,—a western one descending into the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi,—and a great valley between them, opening toward the north and carrying its waters by the river Shenandoah into the Potomac.

THE LANDS OF LORD FAIRFAX.

Almost all the settlements which existed in Virginia, in Washington's early days, were on the eastern slope. The western slope was almost entirely in the possession of the Indians. Even the valley of the Shenandoah between them was very little inhabited by white men, although various adventurers and backwoodsmen had found their way into it,—some to trade with the Indians for furs, others to find fertile lands where they could settle and make their farms without having any purchase-money to pay. The log huts of these people were scattered here and there over the territory, in openings which they had made in th woods, and there were roving bands of Indians also, who roamed about by the paths which they had made through the forests, or paddled up and down the rivers in their birch canoes.

The vast tract of land which Lord Fairfax claimed extended beyond the Blue Ridge into this

valley, but the portion beyond the mountains had never been surveyed, and had been very imperfectly explored. In the meantime, as has already been said, roving adventurers were beginning to go in and establish themselves in the country, choosing of course the choicest sites, and it was to be feared that if they were allowed to continue their illegal possession too long, they might claim a right to the property, and it might become very difficult in the end either to compel them to pay the price for the land which they occupied, or to eject them from it.

ORGANIZATION OF AN EXPLORING AND SURVEYING PARTY.

Under these circumstances Lord Fairfax proposed to young Washington the plan of organizing an exploring party to proceed into the Shenandoah Valley, there to survey and take possession of the lands belonging to him, with a view to the formal assertion of his rights as owner of the property, and to prepare the way for regular sales of the lands to future settlers. Washington readily undertook the work. He was admirably well qualified for it. He had taken great interest in studying the science and art of surveying, and the inspection of some of the field-books which he had kept made so strong an impression upon Lord Fairfax's mind, and gave him so high an idea of his young friend's

science and skill as to satisfy him that he was well qualified for the work which he proposed.

Young Washington, though still only fifteen or sixteen years of age, was of an athletic and vigorous frame. He was accustomed to life in the woods. He was prudent, grave and cautious in his conduct to a degree entirely beyond his years. The plan was accordingly decided upon, and the arrangements were at once made for carrying it into effect. Washington was to receive about fifteen dollars a day for his services during the time that he should be gone.

THE SURVEYING PARTY.

Young Washington had one companion on this expedition in the person of George William Fairfax, the son of Sir William. He was a few years older than Washington himself. In addition to these two the party comprised some attendants. Others were to be obtained in the country to be surveyed. A considerable number of followers and assistants are always required on such expeditions as these.

Besides the necessity of a company for the purpose of mutual aid and protection in a journey through so wild and lawless a country, the simple business of running a line with compass and chain through the woods requires a party of several men

to carry it forward promptly and with despatch. There must be two chainmen, one for each end of the chain,—and a compass man to carry the compass, and to set it, when it is required to regulate the direction of the line run—and two or three axe men, to go forward and clear the way when necessary, and also to fall trees across small streams to serve as bridges for the party to pass over. The surveyor himself cannot perform any of these duties, for he must carry the field-book, and must be incessantly employed in making notes in it of the distances run, the streams crossed, the quality of the land, the character of the timber, the situation of waterfalls where mills might be built, and other such particulars.

Besides the number of persons actually employed in the process of surveying, there are others necessary to carry the provisions required for the party, or the guns and ammunition for procuring food from the forest.

It is not to be supposed however that Washington took all this force with him, from Mount Vernon and Belvoir. He relied in a great measure for these purposes on the aid that he could obtain in the valley itself from the settlers, and from the Indians, whom it was necessary sometimes to employ as guides.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP.

The adjoining map shows the situation of the Shenandoah Valley in reference to the eastern slope of the territory of Virginia. It also shows the position of Mount Vernon, and of the Fairfax residence of Belvoir just below it on the banks of the Potomac. The letter W marks the point on the banks of the river where the city of Washington was afterward built. Farther down the river, and pretty near the mouth of it, the reader will see that the birthplace of Washington is indicated, and also, in the interior, the town of Fredericksburg, near which he lived a long time with his mother, after his father's death, and where he went to school to Master Hobby.

VARIOUS ADVENTURES.

It was in the month of March that this exploring tour was commenced. It occupied a period of several weeks, at the end of which time the party returned. Washington encountered a great variety of experiences and adventures during his absence, but he accomplished the purpose of his mission in a very satisfactory manner.

Sometimes he and his companion found a lodging for the night in the hut of a settler, though even in these cases, instead of occupying a bed, they

COAT OF ARMS.
HERE THE 11TH OF FEBRUARY 1732 GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS BORN.
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
Allegheny Mts.
Blue Ridge
Shenandoah R.
POTOMAC R.
Winchester
Baltimore
WASHINGTON
Mt. Vernon
Belvoir
RAPPAHANNOCK R.
Fredericksburg
BIRTH-PLACE
Richmond
JAMES R.
Williamsburg
CHESAPEAKE BAY
Norfolk
DELAWARE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EARLY LIFE of WASHINGTON
JENFIELD

usually lay down at night upon blankets, bear-skins or straw, with the members of the family,—men women and children, and perhaps other strangers,—bestowed in a similar manner all around them, the forms of the sleepers under their rude coverings revealed by the flickering light of the fire.

They met occasionally with companies of Indians, and at one time they encountered a party of thirty warriors returning from some expedition, bearing a scalp for a trophy. These Indians at their encampment cleared a space of ground, built a fire in the centre, and sat around the fire in a circle, and there, to entertain Washington and his companions, went through with some of the wild ceremonies of savage life, which were intermingled with frightful war-whoops and yells, and hideous dances.

MODE OF LIVING.

The party depended for food almost wholly upon the game they could shoot, consisting chiefly of wild turkeys and other birds. Provided with supplies of such food as this, they gathered round their camp-fire at night and prepared their suppers, each one cooking for himself his own portion by means of a forked stick with which the strip of flesh was held before the glowing embers of the fire.

GREENWAY COURT.

Lord Fairfax was much pleased with the report which Washington brought back of the result of his labors, and with the account which he gave of the beauty and richness of the country, and he determined to go into the valley himself and build a residence there. He did in fact afterward select a spot near where the town of Winchester now stands, and he erected some buildings preliminary to the construction of the intended mansion. He put up a suitable house for his servants, and stables for his horses, and kennels for his dogs, and also a small structure apart from the rest, containing a sleeping room for himself, and also an office, in which he transacted business with his tenants and the men in his employ. The name which he gave the place was Greenway Court.

Here he lived for several years, and Washington was a frequent visitor at his "quarters," as he called them, and was employed a great deal in making explorations and surveys of the surrounding country.

The mansion itself, of Greenway Court, which it was at this time the intention of Lord Fairfax to construct, was to be built in the style of English country residences of the highest class; and so magnificent was the scale on which the wealthy

nobleman formed his plan that he set apart a tract of land—most fertile and picturesque in its character—of ten thousand acres, to form the domain to be attached to the residence.

The building was, however, never erected. The whole plan shared the fate of the thousand other attempts which have been made from time to time to introduce the ideas and usages of the feudal aristocracies of Europe into the new world. Those ideas and usages are old trunks which have great vitality where they stand, but cannot bear transplantation to another soil.

CHAPTER II.

THE VALLEY OF THE OHIO

SITUATION OF THE VALLEY.

THE valley of the Shenandoah, as has already been explained, lies between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains; while beyond the Alleghany mountains the land slopes toward the west, and opens into the great valley of the Ohio. On the hither side of these mountains the waters all flow to the northward and eastward, and find their way ultimately to the Atlantic Ocean. Beyond them the course of the streams is to the westward and southward into the valley of the Ohio, and thence through the vast basin of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

VALUE OF THIS WESTERN TERRITORY.

The interest which this territory, or rather that portion of it which forms the valley of the Ohio,—the only part which in these early times had yet come seriously into question,—possessed in the minds of the colonists on the St. Lawrence and on

the Atlantic seaboard, arose not so much from its prospective value as a home for European settlers, as from the vast supplies of furs which might at that time be drawn from it. The land was fertile and the forests luxuriant, and they were filled with wild animals of every kind, some of which produced furs which were of great value in Europe. The country was inhabited by roving tribes of Indians, who indeed cleared and cultivated some small patches of land, but who left far the larger portion of the forests undisturbed, except to hunt and trap the animals that inhabited them, as they depended mainly upon the products of the chase for food and clothing. They were extremely skilful in trapping the fur-bearing animals, and they had the art of curing the peltry which they obtained so far as was necessary for its safe transportation to Europe, where the skins were manufactured into the most soft and luxurious furs, and sold at an enormous profit.

The profit was all the greater on account of the very insignificant value of the merchandise given to the Indians in exchange for the skins, which consisted chiefly of glass beads, gaudy colored calicoes, cheap ornaments such as rings, bracelets, chains and the like, and spirituous liquors of inferior quality and of very trifling cost.

Thus the main object for coveting the possession of the valley of the Ohio in the early days of Washington was to gain the control of the fur trade with the Indians that inhabited it.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS OF THE FRENCH AND OF THE ENGLISH TO THE POSSESSION OF THE VALLEY.

Both the French and English claimed this territory. The ground of the French claim was that they first discovered and explored the river Mississippi, and according to the ideas in respect to discovery and dominion which then prevailed, any power whose subjects first discovered a river became entitled to jurisdiction over all the country drained by the waters of that river.

Now, as is related in a former volume of this series, a French explorer had gone down with a party in a boat, from the French settlements on the western lakes, until he reached the Mississippi, and had descended for some distance along its course. This vested the title to the whole country drained by the river, including the valley of the Ohio as a portion of it, in the French king,—subject of course to such rights of occupancy as were possessed by the Indians.

The English on the other hand maintained that in taking possession of any portion of the sea-coast

of a continent, and establishing colonies thereon, a power became entitled not only to the land actually occupied by them, but to the territory contiguous to it, to an indefinite distance into the interior, and that no other European power could rightfully interfere with them, by penetrating into the interior by circuitous routes, as the French had done, and were attempting to do. In other words, they claimed that each was entitled to all the territory lying directly back of the portion of the sea-coast which they respectively possessed, and no more.

MERITS OF THE QUESTION.

In a word, the French claimed a right to the land on account of having first discovered the rivers that drained it. The English on the ground of having first settled the sea-coast which fronted it. Of course there was no possibility of settling such a question as this by argument. Nor even if reasoning and argument could have led never so certainly to a solution, would it have made any difference in the result. Here were the pioneer settlements of two of the most ambitious and powerful nations in the world approaching, on different sides, a vast, rich and mainly unoccupied country, one teeming, too, with wealth all ready to be gathered. The only possible way, as human nature

is, of settling the question which should seize the prize, was to ascertain by actual trial which was the strongest.

It is true that some time was spent at the outset in arguments and negotiations,—but the object of such discussion on each side was only to amuse and occupy the attention of the other until the preparations for the more serious work could be properly made. Each party immediately commenced making their arrangements for advancing into the disputed territory with a military force sufficient to hold it against all attempts of the other to dispossess them.

RIGHTS OF THE INDIANS.

It must be admitted in justice to the parties concerned that neither the French or English absolutely disregarded the claims of the Indians to the land in dispute. They admitted that the Indians had certain rights of occupancy in the country of their forefathers which they were bound to recognize and to provide for in some amicable manner. In respect to their own rights of discovery and first possession—those of the English based on their occupancy of the coast, and those of the French on their discovery of the rivers—all that each power claimed was that its title was good as against all other European powers claiming to make settle

ments in the new world. The title of the Indians to the land was to be extinguished, so far as it should be necessary to extinguish it, by friendly negotiations with them and treaties.

These negotiations with the Indians both parties commenced and eagerly prosecuted during the time while they were making their preparations for the great contest with each other. They convened councils of the tribes, and sent commissioners to them with presents of wampum, trinkets, gunpowder and rum, to buy over the chiefs, and with smooth words and pretences of disinterested friendship to cajole the people. The English called themselves the Indians' brothers. The French styled the governor of Canada the Indians' father. Each made treaties of a more or less formal character, with different tribes inhabiting the country, under which they put forward claims to this and that district of country, or to the exclusive right of trading at this or that station, and they argued these claims both with the Indians and with one another in a very serious manner.

This was, however, after all mere by-play. The real question, and the only real question at issue, was which of the two powers was to prove strong enough to expel the other from the territory in dispute with bullets, bayonets and artillery.

ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION OF THE FRENCH IN ENTERING INTO THE CONTEST.

In the preliminary movements and negotiations which preceded the great conflict of arms by which it was destined that the question was finally to be settled, the French seem to have had greatly the advantage, on account of the situation of the country in dispute in respect to their possessions on the St. Lawrence. The valley of the Ohio was separated from the English settlements by the ranges of the Alleghany Mountains,—which could only be traversed by means of a few difficult and dangerous passes. On the other hand the valley was entirely open to access from the region of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, the whole region on that side being level or gently undulating, and being traversed by multitudes of streams navigable for canoes, which greatly facilitated the movements of expeditions of all sorts, and the transportation of supplies. The French, too, were much more successful than the English in cultivating the acquaintance and friendship of the Indians. The country which their settlements occupied was more favorably situated for the fur trade on account of the immense extent to which it could be penetrated by bateaux and canoes, and also to the greater abundance of the fur bearing animals in the country

bordering the northern lakes and rivers than in the region occupied by the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. The French, too, were more inclined to fraternize with the Indians, to fall in, good-humoredly, with their customs, and to adopt their modes of life. Sometimes a French trader joined the Indian tribes and lived with them for a time altogether, adopting their dress and their mode of life, and learning their language. In other cases persons who had been taken captive and held as prisoners contrived to ingratiate themselves into the favor of their captors, and after living with them a long time, and becoming thoroughly acquainted with their language, their ideas, their customs of war and diplomacy and their modes of life, would finally obtain their release and return to the French settlements, and would afterward render the most important services to their countrymen as interpreters for embassies sent or received, or as a medium of communication in a great variety of negotiations.

DISADVANTAGES OF THE ENGLISH SITUATION.

The English enjoyed few of these facilities. They were obliged in attempting to form alliances with the Indians to make long and difficult journeys by land,—over rough and dangerous roads, consisting

only of the paths made by the buffaloes through the woods or the trail of the Indian warriors; and when they reached the place where the council was to be held were comparatively much in the dark in respect to the true interpretation which they were to put upon the incidents that occurred, or the appearances that were presented, and to the course which it was proper to pursue to influence the decisions of the savage chieftains whose favor they were seeking.

FORMATION OF THE OHIO COMPANY.

The hold which the French had already obtained in the valley, by their traders and hunters, and by certain small military expeditions which they had sent into it from time to time to take possession of particular points, to build log forts and block-houses, and to establish friendly relations with the Indians, was such as to render it unsafe for individual English settlers to attempt to go in alone and unprotected, and accordingly one of the first plans which was adopted by the governor and leading men of Virginia was to form a combination with a view of advancing into the country in considerable force. For this purpose a company was organized by a number of men of influence and of property in Virginia and Maryland in connection

with a London capitalist, for organizing settlements on a considerable scale in the valley. The associates were incorporated under the name of the Ohio Company. They obtained a grant from the King of England of five hundred thousand acres of land to be selected by themselves in any part of the country west of the Alleghanies and on the banks of the Ohio. Among the other conditions of the grant to which the company agreed, they bound themselves to settle not less than one hundred families upon the land within seven years, and also to build a fort, and to garrison it with a sufficient force to defend their settlements from the Indians.

EMPLOYMENT OF WASHINGTON BY THE OHIO COMPANY.

Lawrence Washington, George's brother, was one of the most prominent of the Virginia members of this company, and he took a very active part in the management of its affairs. Through him George Washington became greatly interested in it, and was employed by the company in various missions and negotiations, for which his knowledge and sound judgment in respect to land, and his familiarity with life in the woods, and with the habits and usages of the Indians, eminently qualified him.

He was also sent on several important missions at different times by the governor of the colony

In the course of these expeditions he suffered many hardships and exposures, and met with many narrow escapes; but his prudence, his caution, and more than all, perhaps, the influence and effect of that calm and quiet energy, courage and self-possession, which so strongly marked his character, carried him safely through them all.

APPOINTMENT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON TO A MILITARY COMMAND.

These various embassies and missions sent into the valley led to no result, except to show that the French were determined to insist upon their title to the country, and the Virginia government began to make vigorous preparations for war. Washington had taken so prominent a part in the preliminary operations, and had evinced such excellent qualities that, though he was not yet twenty years of age, he was appointed by the governor to take charge of the military organization of one of the districts into which the State was divided. His title was Adjutant-General. He was proposed for this appointment by his brother Lawrence, who continued to take the warmest interest in his welfare and advancement, and the governor conferred it without hesitation.

HIS MILITARY STUDIES.

Washington immediately engaged with great ardor in the performance of the duties of his office, which related to the work of organizing and equipping the militia of his district. At the same time he devoted himself very assiduously to the study of the art of war. There were among Lawrence Washington's acquaintances two former comrades of his who had returned with him from the West Indies and were living in Virginia. One was Adjutant Muse, an Englishman, and the other a Dutchman named Van Braum, who professed to be an accomplished swordsman, and who was at that time indeed gaining his livelihood by giving fencing lessons.

Washington immediately employed these men as his teachers. Adjutant Muse brought him books treating of military tactics and the manœuvres of bodies of men in the field, and gave him all necessary instruction and guidance in the perusal of them. Van Braum taught him fencing and other similar military arts. Washington devoted himself wholly to these pursuits, and the house at Mount Vernon assumed for the time being the appearance of a military station, where nothing was to be seen or heard but the going and coming of military mes-

sengers conveying orders, and the drilling of men in the exercises of arms.

DEATH OF LAWRENCE WASHINGTON.

These pursuits, however, were interrupted for a time by the sickness of Lawrence Washington, and by the departure of George with him on a voyage to the West Indies for the recovery of his health. Lawrence had been for some time in a decline, and his physicians now ordered him to a change of climate as the only means of saving his life. He wished to have his brother George accompany him, and George readily consented to do so. It was in 1752.

The brothers spent the winter in Barbadoes. Toward the spring Lawrence being somewhat better, but considering it still too early to return to Virginia, and feeling lonely and ill at ease under so long a separation from his wife, determined to go to Bermuda, and to send to Virginia to bring his wife to Bermuda to meet him there. George accordingly returned to Mount Vernon, and not long afterward Lawrence himself returned, with barely strength enough remaining to reach his home. He died a very short time after his arrival.

The bereavement involved in this event was for George like the death of a father. He had first

come under the care of his brother while he himself was quite a child and his brother a full grown man, and ever since that time Lawrence had fulfilled toward him with great fidelity and sincere affection all the duties of a parent; and George looked up to him, as long as he lived, with a species of filial veneration.

MOUNT VERNON.

After the death of his brother, George Washington became the head of the family at Mount Vernon, as the executor of Lawrence's will and the legal protector of his wife and infant daughter. His brother had made him also prospectively the heir to the property, which accordingly in due time descended to him. He thus at this time entered into possession of Mount Vernon and continued his possession—for a time as executor and guardian and afterward as proprietor—to the close of his life. There he died and there his remains have rested undisturbed to the present day.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

As it had become evident on all sides that the question of the title to the valley of the Ohio could only be settled by war, both parties immediately began to prepare for the contest. The Ohio Com-

pany commenced preparations for building a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany where these two rivers form the Ohio, near the point where the town of Pittsburg now stands. The French advanced their posts into the disputed territory on several different lines, and built forts and block-houses, and established military stations at all important points.

During the time while these preparations were in progress, both parties were busy in carrying on negotiations with the various tribes of Indians inhabiting the country, calling councils of the most influential chiefs, and sending them presents of such articles and commodities as they deemed most likely to please such savages,—guns, powder, shot, knives, blankets, gaudy calicoes and cloths, cheap but showy trinkets, and, worst of all, rum. At these councils each party attempted to convince the Indians that they were their friends, and only wished to come into their country out of disinterested love for the red man and desire to benefit him, and that the other party were dangerous enemies to the Indians, men of reckless and desperate character, who wished to force their way into the region in order to dispossess the Indians of their lands, and who would not shrink from any treachery or cruelty to accomplish their ends.

RELUCTANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE COLONY TO UNDERTAKE THE WAR.

It was the royal governor of Virginia and not the legislature or the people of the province that chiefly urged on the work of expelling the French from the valley of the Ohio. The people of the province, with the exception of a comparatively small number of hunters and Indian traders, were contented with their own homes on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, and were not much disposed to incur the cost and submit to the great sacrifice of life which they foresaw would be inevitable, in a cause in which the extension and future glory of the British empire was much more the object at stake than any direct or practical interests of theirs.

But the royal governor, acting as the royal governors of the province generally did, in the interest of the crown, and not in that of the people of the colonies, was eager in pressing on the preparations for war. The legislature were slow in responding to his urgency. They were reluctant to vote money or to raise men. They even made the governor indignant by seeming to doubt after all whether the English title to the valley was so absolutely clear as he regarded it. Finally, however, a certain sum was voted, and authority was

given to raise men. The men were induced to enlist by promises of land when the possession of the country should be secured, and the awkward squads of rough farmers' boys and backwoodsmen which were thus recruited were organized, disciplined and trained, as well as they could be, by Washington, with the assistance of Adjutant Muse, Van Braum and other such aids.

THE COÖPERATION OF THE OTHER ATLANTIC COLONIES OBTAINED.

Governor Dinwiddie took active measures to secure the aid of the governors of the other colonies which lay contiguous, on their western border, to the valley of the Ohio—more particularly those of Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York—and they all in the end took a more or less active part in the war. Some aid certainly, but with it a great deal of embarrassment and confusion of counsel, arose from the coöperation of so many distinct parties and powers in the conduct of the campaigns. At one time during the course of the war a convention was held of no fewer than six governors of as many independent States to consult on the measures to be adopted, and to make the necessary arrangements for carrying them into effect. As the home government was also represented in this convention, we

have here a congress of seven distinct and in some respects independent powers, all more or less suspicious and jealous of each other, and without any real head, to plan a military campaign—a work which of all human undertakings requires most absolutely the unity of purpose and design which can only be secured through the action of a single judgment, and the prompt resolution of a single will.

INTERFERENCE OF JURISDICTION AND AUTHORITY DURING THE WAR.

Indeed the greatest source of delay, difficulty and embarrassment from which the English and colonial armies suffered during the war, was the interference of jurisdiction and authority on the part of the powers which were engaged in prosecuting it. The home government made a distinction which they insisted on maintaining between the officers who received their commissions from the crown, and those who were in the colonial service,—as they did also between the regular English troops which were sent out from England, and the colonial soldiers, which last the regular army looked down upon with something like contempt. Then the troops furnished by the different colonies, were under their own officers, who were each tenacious of his own authority and

jealous of the others. During the whole course of the war of the Revolution Washington seems to have met with more serious embarrassment and with greater obstacles to his success from difficulties arising from such sources as these than from all the military operations of the enemy.

DIFFICULTIES OF BEING AT THE SAME TIME MANY AND ONE.

The original settlement of this country by a very large number of distinct and separate colonies, resulting as it did in the establishment of so many distinct, and, for many of the functions of government, independent states, operates very decidedly for the benefit of the whole population in times of peace and general security, since it enables each separate community to shape its institutions and conduct its industrial pursuits in its own way, according to the varying tastes and habits of the people, or the differences of climate, soil and other physical conditions under which they live. But it has always been a great source of embarrassment and difficulty in times of insurrection or war, and indeed in all cases where the combined action of the whole has been necessary to secure some common good, or to defend the country in general against some common danger. This evil was felt quite seriously in this war with the French and Indians, and still

more seriously in the war of Independence, twenty years later, as we shall presently see.

GENERAL COURSE AND RESULT OF THE WAR.

The war which was commenced in the valley of the Ohio, in the manner thus described was continued for many years. The general course and the final result of it have been described fully in the history of the wars of the colonies, given in a previous number of this series. It is sufficient here to say, that in all their operations in the valley of the Ohio, the original scene of the conflict, the English were for a long time entirely unsuccessful. Except in certain subordinate and restricted operations which were committed to Washington's charge, the narrative for several years relates little else than a series of disasters.

The French built and garrisoned a strong fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany, which they named Fort Du Quesne, in honor of the governor of Canada, and for a long time they resisted all the efforts of the British and colonial forces to dispossess them.

At length, however, in 1758, three years after the commencement of the war, the fort was taken, and as it formed in a great measure the key to the valley, the fall of it was a fatal blow to the French power in the western country.

The English moreover finally determined to attack the French dominion in North America at the head and centre of it, and to make an end of it forever. They fitted out a grand expedition in England—a naval and military force combined—to cross the Atlantic, ascend the St. Lawrence and attack the cities of Quebec and Montreal, with a view of totally subverting the French power on the continent. The attempt was successful. Quebec and Montreal fell and with their fall the French power was destroyed, and then the whole country passed unquestioned into the power of the conquerors.

THE PART PERFORMED BY WASHINGTON.

Washington himself was engaged during the war only in the campaign on the Ohio, and though the operations in that region were so long unsuccessful, the part which he performed in them was marked by so much prudence, wisdom, courage and energy, that though the commanders under whom he served incurred much discredit for their failures, he himself acquired a great military reputation, not only among his countrymen in Virginia but abroad. It was a rare instance of military fame acquired by connection with campaigns and operations which ended almost entirely in disaster and defeat.

NATURE OF HIS SERVICES.

Sometimes detached commands for the accomplishment of special objects were committed to Washington's charge. These he managed successfully. And oftener still his coolness, self-possession and quiet energy were called into requisition to save remnants of defeated bodies of men, after battles lost through the self-conceit or recklessness of the English officers his superiors. It was on an occasion when he held an independent command of a small body of men, on a sort of scouting expedition at the very commencement of the war, that he fought his first battle and gained his first victory, which, although the whole operation was on a very small scale, yet occurred at a time and under circumstances which attracted great attention to it, throughout the country, and formed quite a brilliant commencement to the military fame which he subsequently acquired.

OCCASION OF THE FIRST BATTLE AND VICTORY.

Washington was marching at the head of a small force through the woods toward the station at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany which was the great object of contention at the beginning of the war, and where hostilities had already commenced. After going on for some days among

WASHINGTON'S FIRST COMBAT.

forests and mountains, he learned that a French force was hovering near him, watching no doubt for a chance to surprise him.

One dark and rainy night, about nine o'clock, some friendly Indians came into his camp and informed him that they had discovered where this French detachment were. They had encamped, they said, in a low bottom land, near the river, in a place shut in by rocks and thickets, and if he wished to attack them they offered to go with him and assist him. There was, moreover, a body of Indians not far away who were ready, they alleged, to join him in such an attempt.

ADVANCE TO THE ATTACK.

Within an hour from the time of receiving this intelligence Washington had aroused his men, organized a guard to be left behind to defend the camp, and was ready to commence his march with the rest. They moved on silently through the woods, n utter darkness, groping their way as well as they could along the Indian trail, in mud and rain. The force consisted of forty men.

The little column reached at length the camp of the Indians who were expected to coöperate with them. The Indians were all ready to join them. Washington then first sent on scouts to reconnoitre

the French encampment, and finding everything favorable he led his men forward to the attack. The assailants advanced in two separate parties, each creeping cautiously through the woods in single file, the Indians in one line and Washington's men in the other.

The enemy, who had considered the security of their hiding place perfect, especially in such a night of wind and rain, were totally unprepared for their coming. Their surprise was complete. They, however, rushed to their arms and attempted to form and defend themselves. The contest, in fact, continued for about a quarter of an hour, when their leader being killed, and quite a number of the men having also fallen, the rest fled, in hopes of finding the means of concealment or escape in the surrounding forest. They were, however, soon overtaken and made prisoners.

Washington treated his prisoners with great kindness, attending carefully to the wounded, and supplying the wants of the two surviving officers from his own private means. He sent them all to Virginia. Their arrival excited great attention, and brought Washington very conspicuously before the people of the colony. The number of prisoners, including the two officers, was twenty-one.

RETURN OF WASHINGTON TO PRIVATE LIFE.

Washington took a very active and conspicuous part in the operations which in the end resulted in the capture of Fort Du Quesne, by which the war, so far as Virginia was concerned, was substantially closed. He then resigned his commission, and returned to Mount Vernon a private citizen,—highly respected and honored, not only by the people of Virginia but throughout the whole land, on account of the very important services that he had rendered, and the exalted qualities which he had displayed.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

THE YOUNG WIDOW.

About the time of Washington's leaving the army and returning to civil life in his home at Mount Vernon, he was married. The circumstances under which his engagement to the lady was formed were somewhat romantic.

It was in 1758, near the close of the period of his military service, that he had occasion to make a journey to Williamsburg, the capital of the state, on some urgent business with the governor relating to the organization of the army. He travelled on horseback. In the course of this journey, through circumstances entirely accidental, he met with a very interesting young widow, then Mrs. Martha Custis, who, though at that time little aware of what was before her, was destined to become in the end a very renowned historical personage under the name of Martha Washington.

CROSSING THE FERRY.

Colonel Washington, for that was then his title, made this journey, as has already been said, on horseback. In the course of it, and on his approach toward Williamsburg, he came to the river Pamunky, a branch of the York River. This river he was to cross, from the county of King William to that of New Kent, by a ferry, and then to go down on the southern side of the river to Williamsburg. He wore his usual military dress, which of course denoted his rank, and being also attended by a military servant was marked at once as a person of distinction. It happened that there was also on board of the ferry boat, making the transit of the river at the same time, a gentleman of the vicinity, a planter, who returning home from some short excursion reached the ferry at the same time with Washington. He was attracted by Colonel Washington's appearance, and entered into conversation with him; and at length as they drew near the shore, he earnestly invited Washington to stop and dine with him at his house which was not far off. Washington at first declined the invitation, saying that his business was urgent and that it was important that he should lose no time.

Mr. Chamberlayne, however—for that was the stranger's name—earnestly pressed him to accept

the invitation, saying that it would detain him very little to stop an hour or two for dinner, and for the rest and refreshment of his horse, and that he might if he chose resume his journey immediately afterward. With this understanding Washington consented to the proposal, and on landing from the boat the whole party went together to Mr. Chamberlayne's house.

MRS. CUSTIS.

They found some company here, and among the guests was Mrs. Custis. Although she had two children and had been a widow about three years she was still young and beautiful. She had dark hazel eyes and hair, her countenance was agreeable, her form was particularly graceful, and her manners and address were marked with that frank and winning cordiality which is often characteristic of the ladies of the southern states, and which places the stranger or the new acquaintance entirely at his ease in their company, and invests the lady herself with an indescribable charm.

THE ACQUAINTANCE AGREEEABLE.

After dinner, Bishop, Washington's servant, according to the orders which he had received from his master on their arrival, brought the horses to

the door, and there they remained a long time, while Washington continued in conversation with the young widow, and with the other guests. The time passed very pleasantly, and at length Washington was urgently pressed to send the horses away and spend the night at the house. This he finally consented to do. The horses were put up. Washington remained during the afternoon and evening with the family, and resumed his journey the next morning, after taking leave of his friends, and promising to visit Mrs. Custis at her residence.

THE WHITE HOUSE.

The residence of Mrs. Custis was known as the White House—the name which in later times became the popular designation of the Presidential mansion in Washington, on account of the color of the material,—white marble,—of which it is constructed. The White House of Mrs. Custis was situated in the immediate neighborhood of Mr. Chamberlayne's, and was the family mansion pertaining to a large and rich plantation left to Mrs. Custis by her husband.

In the course of a few months following Washington's first interview with Mrs. Custis at Mr. Chamberlayne's, he visited her several times at her residence, in passing to and fro, on journeys made

necessary by the public business in which he was engaged, and it was soon understood throughout the wide circle of acquaintances and friends with which the parties were connected that they were engaged to be married.

WASHINGTON ELECTED A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Some months before this time, when Washington found that the period was drawing near for his retirement from the army and return to the pursuits and occupations of civil life, he had offered himself as a candidate for election to the legislature for the County of Frederic, in the valley of the Shenandoah. Winchester was the chief town of this county, and here Washington had had his head-quarters for considerable periods at different times, so that in addition to the general military fame which he had acquired he was personally known to most of the people of this district.

The elections in those days were conducted, it seems, in the English style; that is, it was customary for the candidates to meet large assemblies of the voters, convened in the streets and in other public places, to harangue them on questions of public policy, and to expound and vindicate the principles on which the speaker pledged himself to act if elected; and then, after the election, the suc-

cessful candidate was placed in a chair and borne on the shoulders of his party friends, in a procession about the town, with acclamations of triumph.

Washington was away on a campaign at the time when the election came on. His superior officer gave him leave of absence in order that he might attend at the polls, according to the custom. He, however, declined to avail himself of this permission, and sent another gentleman as his representative. This proxy made the speeches, and gave the entertainments, and distributed the largesses usual on such occasions; and finally, after the election was carried in Washington's favor, he was borne about upon the chair by the triumphant party, and received the customary plaudits and acclamations in his principal's name.

WASHINGTON'S AVERSION TO PUBLIC SPEAKING AND TO OCCASIONS OF PARADE AND DISPLAY.

It is probable that Washington was very willing to escape being personally present at this scene, as he had no fondness for public exhibitions or parades of any kind, and he had no special facility in making speeches to popular assemblies, especially on occasions of ceremony and form, when no practical question was at issue.

So little was he, in fact, at this period of his life,

accustomed to such performances, that when subsequently he went to take his seat in the legislature he was placed in quite an embarrassing situation. The legislative body had determined to mark his entrance among them with some token of their respect for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to the colony; and when he appeared to take his seat, and the oath was about to be administered, the speaker, according to previous arrangement, received him with an address of compliment and welcome, to which it was of course proper that he should make some reply. He accordingly attempted to speak, but he soon became so embarrassed that he was utterly unable to proceed, and the speaker was obliged to interpose and invite him to take his seat, saying to him that "his modesty was equal to his valor, which was more than words could express."

THE MARRIAGE.

The marriage of Washington took place early in January, 1759, at the White House, and was celebrated with all the festivities and rejoicings usually attendant on such an occasion in those days upon the great plantations in Virginia. Mrs. Custis's plantation was very large and very valuable; and in addition to this landed property her husband had

left her and the children nearly two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in cash investments. Of this property one-third fell to Mrs. Custis and two-thirds to the children, but on the marriage of Washington the whole came into his possession as the husband of the lady, or into his custody as guardian of the children.

One of the children was a boy six years of age, the other a girl of four. These children grew up under the charge of their new father. The daughter afterward died at the age of nineteen, and the son in early manhood, leaving descendants however, now well-known in Virginia.

ESTABLISHMENT AT MOUNT VERNON.

The White House was not very far from Williamsburg, then the seat of government of Virginia, and during the time that the legislature continued in session, which was about three months, Washington made his home at the residence of his bride. At the end of that time he took her with him to Mount Vernon, and there they lived together in peace and happiness for many years.

PLANTATION LIFE.

Life on a plantation is always characterized by striking peculiarities, and these peculiarities were

more strongly marked in those days than they are now. There were then no manufactories of any kind in America. The policy of the British government had always been to prevent by every possible means the fabrication of anything whatever in this country, with a view of compelling the people to depend upon the merchandise of England for their supplies of every kind, except agricultural products raised by the cultivation of the ground.

The result was that the Virginia planters could neither produce themselves nor easily procure anywhere in this country, anything for their families and their laborers but food. They depended for every thing else almost altogether on the tobacco which they could raise and send to the English market.

SYSTEM OF COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE.

The small farmers usually sold their tobacco to the merchants in the sea-port towns, and procured supplies for their families from the very moderate stocks of foreign goods which these merchants had imported and kept on hand. The planters who owned large estates and many slaves, operated on a greater scale. They sent their crops of tobacco directly to England—sometimes in their own vessels—and imported in return directly to themselves the foreign articles which they required.

PRACTICAL INCONVENIENCES OF THE SYSTEM.

Of course with such a mode of doing business, the members of a family to be supplied could have very little opportunity of selection in respect to the articles which they required, and very little control over the returns they were to receive, either in regard to quality or price; and in case of any dissatisfaction it must have been an extremely inconvenient and embarrassing circumstance that it required the sending of a complaint a distance of three or four thousand miles, and the lapse in time, of several months, to obtain redress.

Washington was remarkable during every period of his life for the method and system which he observed in the conduct of all his business affairs, and the care with which all his papers were arranged and preserved. There remain at the present day at Mount Vernon, files of his correspondence, and among them are various letters to and from his London agent, which give us a very distinct idea of the manner in which the business was conducted, and also preserve some specimens of the complaints for which the remissness or unfaithfulness of the London agents not unfrequently gave occasion. The following letters somewhat abridged are examples:

SPECIMENS OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.

"WILLIAMSBURG, 1 *May*, 1759.

"TO ROBERT CARY, Merchant, London.

"SIR,—The enclosed is the clergyman's certificate of my marriage with Mrs. Martha Custis, properly authenticated. You will therefore for the future please address all your letters which relate to the affairs of the late Daniel Parke Custis to me, as by marriage I am entitled to a third part of that estate, and am invested likewise with the care of the other two-thirds by a decree of our General Court, which I obtained in order to strengthen the power I before had in consequence of my wife's administration.

"At present this serves only to advise you of the above change, and at the same time to acquaint you that I shall continue to make you the same consignments of tobacco as usual, and will endeavor to increase them in proportion as I find myself and the estate benefited thereby.

"On the other side is an invoice of some goods which I beg you to send me by the first ship bound either for the Potomac or to the Rappahannock, as I am in immediate want of them. Let them be insured, and in case of accident, re-shipped without delay. Direct for me at Mount Vernon, Potomac River, Virginia. The former is the name of my seat, and the other of the river on which it is situated."

About a year after this he had occasion to write substantially as follows:

"By this conveyance you will receive invoices of such goods as are wanting, which please to send as there directed by Captain J., in the spring, and let me beseech you to give the necessary directions for purchasing them *upon the best terms.* It is needless for me to particularize the sorts, qualities or taste I would choose to have them in, unless my directions are observed; and you may believe me when I tell you that instead of getting things good and fashionable in their several kinds, we often have articles sent us that could only have been used by our forefathers in days of yore.

"It is a custom, I have some reason to believe, with many of the shopkeepers and tradesmen of London, when they know goods are bespoken for exportation to palm sometimes very old, and sometimes very slight and indifferent ones upon us—taking care at the same time to advance ten, fifteen, or perhaps twenty per cent. upon them in price."

THE ESTATE AT MOUNT VERNON.

Although Washington continued to have charge of the plantation at the White House which now belonged jointly to him and the two children, his

established home was from this time the estate at Mount Vernon, and a more delightful residence for a gentleman possessed of wealth and fond of rural occupations and amusements it would be difficult to imagine.

The estate was very large, extending for miles along the bank of the river, and comprising every variety of soil and scenery. There were beautiful lawns bordered and adorned with copses of trees and shrubbery near the mansion, and extensive fields of arable land, for the cultivation of corn and tobacco, and wide tracts of forest land, well stocked with deer, foxes, partridges, pigeons and other game. There were hamlets of cottages, and cabins occupied by the overseers and laborers scattered ere and there, with winding roads leading through most picturesque and varied scenery from one to another, and granaries for the storage of corn, and presses and warehouses for packing and preserving the crop of tobacco.

The mansion was situated upon a gentle swell of land near the river, sufficiently elevated to command a wide and charming view. It was spacious and convenient, and was amply provided with all the appointments and appurtenances necessary for the uses of a numerous family and for the parties of visitors which were often to be entertained there

Nothing seems to be wanting to make such a plantation as this in such a climate, and so extremely profitable in its productions, a paradise upon earth, but the system of calling the laborers together on Saturday night, and paying them the fair and honest wages that they have earned,—and the peace and mutual satisfaction and content which such a system brings with it.

HORSES AND CARRIAGES.

Washington's mind was of a cast which inclined him to simplicity and plainness in his habits and style of living, but such were the usages of those days among persons of wealth and distinction in Virginia,—derived probably in a great measure from the influence of English manners upon them, through the intercourse of the colonists with English gentlemen of rank, many of whom as officers of the government or of the army, or landed proprietors, were much in this country at this time, and exercised a great ascendency over fashionable society in all the colonies, and in none more so than in Virginia—that Washington in falling in with these usages to such an extent as was natural and proper for one in his position, lived in a style at Mount Vernon which would by no means be considered at the present day particularly simple and plain. He

had an elegant carriage and four for the use of Mrs. Washington and her guests, with all the appointments and equipments of the most complete and fashionable character, according to the ideas and customs of London. The orders which he sent out for these things are still, many of them, extant in his letter books, and they show that he attached great importance, not only to the substantial quality of the articles ordered, for service and use, but to the freshness and fashionableness of them in respect to style.

In addition to his carriage horses he had in his stables an ample stock of saddle horses and hunters. In all his excursions and journeyings he was accustomed to go on horseback, having become greatly habituated to that mode of conveyance in the course of his military campaigns. Indeed any general officer after long service in active operations becomes so accustomed to his horse, that he often feels much more at his ease in the saddle than he does upon the cushions of any carriage.

Some idea of the figure which Washington made when mounted for the purpose perhaps of making a visit to some of his neighbors, or of accompanying his wife and children in a drive about the estate, may be formed from the items of the orders which he sent to England, about these days. In one of

them he specifies "A man's riding saddle, large plated stirrups, and every thing complete;—a double reined bridle and Pelham bit, plated;—a very neat and fashionable Newmarket saddle-cloth;—a large and best portmanteau;—a cloak bag, surcingle, checked saddle-cloth, and holsters;—a riding frock of a handsome drab colored broadcloth, with plain double gilt buttons;—a riding waist-coat of superfine scarlet cloth and gold lace, with buttons like those of the coat;—a blue surtout coat; a neat switch whip—silver cap; and a black velvet cap for servant."

DOGS AND HUNTING.

Washington was fond of hunting, having acquired a taste for this amusement in his early intercourse with the Fairfax family at Belvoir, and at Greenway Court; and besides the horses adapted to this sport which he kept in his stables for the use of himself and his friends and visitors, he maintained a large number of dogs, in kennels built for the purpose; and in the proper season he used often to go out with them in pursuit of foxes, partridges and other game. The estate comprised a large extent of woodland diversified with wild scenery of every kind, in the deep ravines and other shady recesses of which large numbers of wild animals

found hiding places and food, and furnished for Washington and his guests abundance of game.

FISHING.

The waters of the river, also, and of the various creeks and inlets that flowed into it from the grounds of the estate, abounded with fish of every kind. These waters were very extensive. Washington calculated that in all there was a length of *ten miles* of shore line washed by tide-water on his domain; so that not only could vessels of considerable burden come up directly to his wharf, to unload their cargoes of supplies for him, and receive in return the products of the estate, but there was also a wide range for navigation by boats between the different portions of the estate, and facilities were afforded for charming aquatic excursions. The planters living on the river used to provide themselves with handsomely ornamented boats for these purposes, with elegant appointments throughout, and crews of negroes, regularly uniformed, and trained as oarsmen, like a boatswain's crew of a man-of-war.

BUSY LIFE.

Although in comparison with military campaigns in the valley of the Ohio this life at Mount Vernon was quiet and retired, it was by no means an idle

one. On the contrary, the daily routine of duty devolving upon Washington at this time, in the personal supervision of the Mount Vernon estate, in the general charge of the White House property, and in the public duties of various kinds which still devolved upon him, gave full occupation to all his powers, and made his life an extremely busy one

The plantation itself of Mount Vernon was quite a little kingdom. It was divided into several distinct farms, each of which had its own separate set of laborers and superintendents, and its separate system of management and of accounts, according to the different articles of produce which the various divisions respectively afforded. Then there was timber to be cut in the woods and sawed into beams and boards for new buildings which were from time to time required; casks and barrels were to be made for the packing of tobacco and flour; smoke-houses were to be built for the curing of bacon, which was one of the chief articles of food for the laborers; the tobacco was to be gathered, dried and packed, the flour ground and barrelled, and the casks and barrels, after being properly marked and branded, were to be shipped, the flour to the West Indies and the tobacco to London, and regular bills of lading to be made out and forwarded by mail. All this business was carried on under the close and

constant supervision of Washington himself, with that perfect method and system, and that careful attention to details which so strongly marked his character. He kept all the accounts, inspected all the operations, watched for the appearance of every abuse, and kept every man up to his duty, in a fair and impartial, but in a very strict and energetic, manner

DAILY ROUTINE AT MOUNT VERNON.

He rose early so as to obtain an hour or two before breakfast for writing and accounts. His breakfast was in winter at eight and in summer at seven. After breakfast he mounted his horse and rode around the estate to inspect the operations that were going on in the various departments. He went to the stables to see that the horses were properly cared for; to the kennels to bid good-morning to the dogs and to see them fed; to the fields where gangs of laborers were at work plowing the ground, or planting or hoeing the growing crops; to the forests where the slave carpenters were cutting or hewing timber; to the blacksmith's and cooper's and joiner's shops to see that everything was going right in them; to the different negro quarters to inspect the condition of the huts, and especially to visit any who might be sick, and

to see to it personally that everything necessary for their comfort and for their recovery was supplied; and finally to reconnoitre the outer boundaries of the estate, in order to watch for and to warn off trespassers upon the forest, lands, or fishing grounds.

He returned to the house a little past noon for dinner, and then devoted the afternoon either to a continuation of the duties of the morning, or to work in his library upon his correspondence and accounts,—or to accompanying his family in some visit to a neighboring plantation, or other excursion of pleasure.

At the close of the day the family met around the tea-table, and all retired early to bed.

VISITS AND COMPANY.

Notwithstanding the almost incessant demands which these numerous duties made upon the time and attention of Washington, he was still called upon by the usages of the country at that period to devote no small portion of many days to making and receiving visits, and to the duties of hospitality and of social intercourse. The visitors that he received were sometimes the families belonging to the neighboring plantations, or to more distant parts of Virginia, and sometimes English gentlemen—either persons officially connected with the govern-

ment of the colony, or travelers who had come out to visit it for purposes of business or pleasure.

BELVOIR.

The place in the neighborhood where the Washington family were perhaps most intimate was Belvoir, the residence of Washington's early friend Sir William Fairfax. This estate, it will be recollected, was situated a few miles below Mount Vernon on the banks of the river, and the two families were at this time very intimate with each other. They interchanged many visits, and formed together hunting parties and boating parties and excursions of all kinds, in which very often distinguished visitors from the mother country took part, and were always prominent objects of interest and attraction to the native Virginians.

VISITS TO ANNAPOLIS.

The nearest large town to Mount Vernon where fashionable life was exhibited on any considerable scale was Annapolis, then as now the capital of Maryland. Here in the winter season, when the legislature was in session, a very considerable circle of genteel society was accustomed to assemble, consisting of the members of the colonial government and their families, and wealthy country gentlemen

of the neighborhood who often came with their wives and daughters to spend the winter in town. The brilliancy of this polite assemblage was sometimes much increased by the presence of English officers of the army or navy, casually present—visitors, perhaps, from a man-of-war anchored in the bay,—or of English gentlemen of high position in the civil service of the colonies, or young men of rank connected with some of the many noble families who were in those days interested in making territorial acquisitions in America.

Washington often at this portion of his life went with his wife to Annapolis, during the season, to join in the fashionable festivities of the place. His wealth, and the high position which he occupied as a public man, made him an object of great interest and attraction in those polite circles, though it is said that he was too grave, dignified and ceremonious in his manners ever to become a very great favorite with the ladies.

PUBLIC DUT .

It must not be supposed, however, that during this period of his life Washington devoted his whole time to his private business and to the pleasures of social intercourse. He had still many public duties to perform which occupied no small portion of his

time and attention. He was a member of the legislature, a judge in a county court, and he was vestryman in two parishes lying in the immediate vicinity of Mount Vernon. He seems not to have taken a very active part in the ordinary routine of business in the legislature, or in the every day management of the affairs of the colony. But whenever any great question arose, or any important enterprise was to be undertaken, looking to substantial and permanent results, his action was energetic and decisive. Many examples of this kind might be adduced, but two or three must suffice.

PLAN FOR RECLAIMING THE DISMAL SWAMP.

One plan in which for a time he was greatly interested was the formation of a company for draining and bringing under cultivation the land of the Dismal Swamp, which is an immense tract of boggy ground on the confines of Virginia and North Carolina, not far from the sea. It is about ten miles wide and thirty miles long. Swamps of this kind are produced usually by subterranean springs rising in such abundance over a wide extent of territory that the natural outflow through the brooks and streams that issue from it is not sufficient to carry off the water. The surplus stagnates, forming all over the ground innumerable pools, bogs and

quagmires, in which aquatic and semi-aquatic plants grow abundantly and reptiles without number breed. In process of ages the vegetable and animal remains that result accumulate often to a great depth, and form, when at last the whole is drained and brought under cultivation, a soil of great depth and of inexhaustible fertility.

EXPLORATION OF THE SWAMP.

Washington was interested in a company formed for reclaiming this territory, and he went at the head of a small surveying party to explore it. Many portions of the ground are sufficiently hard to bear the weight of a horse, though in traversing it on horseback it is necessary to proceed with extreme caution, as there are many treacherous spots where an animal of such weight, once sinking in would become inextricably mired.

Washington, however, was thoroughly versed in everything relating to forest life, and he conducted the exploration in safety, camping at night upon such firm spots of ground as he could find. The examination which he thus made, and the steps taken by the company in consequence of it were the foundation of great improvements which have since been effected in this region,—though the swamp has never yet been reclaimed.

EXPEDITION TO THE VALLEY OF THE OHIO.

Another important undertaking in which Washington engaged at this period,—one which, like his exploration of the Dismal Swamp, must have recalled very forcibly to his mind his old experiences of life in the wild woods, was an expedition which he made down the Ohio, with a view of selecting a tract of land to be allotted to his old comrades, the soldiers in the war with the French and Indians.

During the war Governor Dinwiddie, the governor of the state, had promised by proclamation, as an inducement for volunteers to enlist, that two hundred thousand acres of land should be set apart on the return of peace, to be divided among the officers and soldiers of the army. Washington was appointed one of the commissioners to settle these claims, and when at length, some time after the French had been expelled from the territory, the government succeeded in extinguishing the Indian title to a considerable portion of it, Washington set off on an expedition into the valley to select the tract to be set apart for this purpose.

ADVENTURES IN THE VALLEY.

It was in 1770 that he set out on this expedition, a very few years before the breaking out of the revolutionary war. The party consisted at the com-

mencement of Washington himself, Dr. Craik, a friend and neighbor who were to accompany him, and three negro servants,—all mounted on horseback. They had besides a horse laden with baggage and provisions.

They pursued the usual route to the valley of the Ohio, directing their course first for the site of the old Fort Du Quesne, the name of which the English, since they had taken possession of the country, had changed to Fort Pitt, in honor of William Pitt, who was at that time the prime minister of England. They traveled twelve days through the woods and mountains before they reached Fort Pitt. Here they found that there was beginning to grow up quite a little town, which has since become the great iron-manufacturing and iron-working city of Pittsburg.

VOYAGE DOWN THE RIVER.

The party left their horses at Fort Pitt and took an Indian canoe for their voyage down the river. They also took some Indians with them to act as guides and interpreters, and to assist in navigating the canoe. They met with a variety of adventures on their voyage, and in visiting the establishment of the fur traders, and the different Indian villages that they passed on their way. They obtained their

subsistence in a great measure from wild animals which they shot, such as deer that they saw from time to time browsing on the banks of the river, or coming down to the water to drink—and wild turkeys, and ducks and geese that abounded in the region.

DANGER.

The expedition was not entirely without the excitement of danger. Besides the ordinary hazards and exposures of traveling in wild and sometimes trackless woods, there was constant reason to apprehend hostility from the Indians, and still more, perhaps, from unprincipled white adventurers who were already beginning to penetrate into the valley, and to take possession of the lands, and who were of course very inimical to any party coming with governmental authority to survey and lay claim to the territory, and to put up metes and bounds. Still, though the travelers had frequent occasion for alarm, and were obliged to be very cautious, and to act with great circumspection, in their treatment of the Indians, they met with no serious disaster.

In the end Washington succeeded perfectly in accomplishing the object of his mission. He selected the lands to be apportioned among the soldiers and marked the boundaries of the tracts

chosen, by suitable designations. Afterward, on his return to Virginia, the apportionment was made in due form, and each officer and soldier received his proper share.

DURATION OF THE PERIOD OF QUIET LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

It was in 1758 that Washington first took up his permanent abode at Mount Vernon. He was married early in 1759. The troubles with the mother country commenced about 1765, and the war of the revolution which called Washington away from his home to take command of the American armies was formally opened in 1775. Thus the quiet period of his life, spent chiefly with his family, in peace and happiness at home, though varied by occasional absences on important public business of a civil nature, extended through a period of about fifteen years.

MOVEMENTS THAT PRECEDED THE REVOLUTION.

Several of the last years of this period were, however, considerably agitated by the difficulties and contentions that had then begun to arise between the colonies and the mother country in respect to the great question which was destined finally to separate them forever,—namely, whether the control and the regulation of the colonial taxation, rested with the colonial legislatures or with the English parliament.

The *civil* part of this contest,—which consisted of the discussions, and also of the legislative measures of coercion adopted by the government, and the counter measures of resistance tried by the colonial legislatures, and by voluntary combinations of the people,—continued during a period of ten years before the result was reached of open war. Washington from the beginning took decided ground on the side of the colonists, acting, however, in all the measures which he recommended, with the calmness and deliberation so characteristic of him. The influence which he exerted in uniting the people of Virginia, especially the rich and influential families, in the determination to assert firmly the rights of the colonists, and to make arrangements for vigorously maintaining them, was very powerful.

MEETING OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

At length when in 1775 the first congress of delegates from the several colonies was called to meet at Philadelphia, for the purpose of organizing united action, Washington was elected as one of the delegates from Virginia, and at the opening of the meeting he appeared as one of the most distinguished of the many very able and eminent men which that body contained. The high military reputation which he had acquired in the wars with the French

and Indians, his wealth and exalted social position, his mature age, his tall and commanding person, his calm, thoughtful and cautious, but resolute and determined character, and his simple and unpretending, though grave and dignified bearing, combined to make him one of the most prominent men in the assembly.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

When at length hostilities were commenced by the battle of Lexington, and the whole country began to rise in arms, it devolved upon the Continental Congress to combine and organize the resistance which the united colonies were to make, and one of the first measures to be adopted was to appoint a commander-in-chief of the forces to be raised.

Washington was at once regarded by every one as the most prominent candidate for this office. He had been from the beginning the leading man in Congress in respect to all military affairs. There were, however, other candidates proposed, and some objection was made to the appointment of Washington, on the ground that the chief force then existing consisted of New England men that had assembled in large numbers around Boston, forming an army there of twenty or thirty thousand men, and it

seemed to be somewhat uncertain how they would like to have a southern man sent to command them.

After full consideration, however, all these objections were overruled, and Washington was appointed to the office by a unanimous vote.

FAREWELL TO MOUNT VERNON

Washington very naturally concluded that his wife would hear at Mount Vernon of her husband's being called to a position, which though one of great honor, would necessarily expose him to great hardships and to much danger, and would for a long time separate him almost entirely from her and from the home where they had enjoyed together so many years of tranquillity and happiness. In writing to her, to communicate the tidings, he assured her that he had done nothing to seek, but everything that he could properly do to avoid having this duty assigned him. But he had been led to it, he said, by circumstances under divine providence wholly beyond his control, and he could not refuse to accept the trust and undertake the service to which he was thus called, without manifest dereliction of duty.

He mourned the necessity of bidding farewell for a time to the scenes of quiet happiness which he had so long enjoyed at Mount Vernon with his wife and family, and expressed a confident hope that

Mrs. Washington would acquiesce cheerfully in the unavoidable separation. He charged her not to disquiet herself with vain regrets and unnecessary anxieties and fears; but to make herself happy with such means of enjoyment as still surrounded her, and to await with fortitude and hope the return of their former happy days.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REVOLUTION

QUALITIES NECESSARY IN A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

ONE might easily imagine that the prime and essential qualities of a commander-in-chief for a great army would be the knowledge of military tactics and strategy necessary to enable him to manœuvre his forces properly before the enemy, and valor in leading them into battle. But Washington soon found that the possession of such qualities as these, on which success in actual fighting depends, constituted but a small and comparatively insignificant part of what was required of him in executing the trust which Congress had imposed upon him. Nearly a year was spent, after he entered upon the duties of his office, in the most arduous, incessant and harassing labors and cares, requiring patience, steadiness, very extended knowledge of facts, great skill in dealing with men of all varieties of character, and mental resources of the highest order,—almost before any occasion occurred

for firing a single gun in actual combat. These were the times and these the services that tried his fitness for the position most severely.

INCIPIENT DIFFICULTIES.

When Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, the only part of the country where hostilities had already commenced, and where the Americans had assembled any armed force, was in the vicinity of Boston. There a confused and unorganized mass of twenty or thirty thousand men had hastily come together, and to that point Washington accordingly at once proceeded, to assume command. He made his head-quarters at a large and convenient house in Cambridge, and here he remained for nearly a year—struggling incessantly with difficulties, obstacles and embarrassments that would have overwhelmed almost any other man, and which repeatedly reduced Washington himself very nearly to despair.

CONFLICTS OF AUTHORITY.

One of the greatest of these sources of embarrassment and difficulty—one, too, which he encountered in all its force at the very outset of his undertaking, and which continued to be an occasion of trouble and perplexity during the whole period of the war

—was the conflict of authority and the disputes about precedence among the different divisions of troops and the officers commanding them. Washington found in the camps about Boston bodies of troops from several different colonies, and officers placed in command by various sources of authority, such as colonial legislatures, committees of safety appointed by large towns, and volunteer associations. In some cases bodies of men who had hastily come together, on the call of some influential man among them possessed of some military knowledge, had elected their officers by ballot. In other cases men who had raised a troop took command of it as a matter of course without any particular authority other than that conferred by the acquiescence of their followers.

All these men were willing to acknowledge Washington as commander-in-chief, he holding his office from the Continental Congress at Philadelphia; but in assigning to them their several positions and their relative rank under him, endless jealousies arose which gave rise to innumerable disputes and a great deal of ill will. It required on the part of Washington an extraordinary degree of tact, judgment and discretion, and a great deal of very wise and skilful management, to adjust all these conflicting claims and prevent open outbreaks.

MRS. WASHINGTON'S VISIT.

He was assisted very much in soothing the jealousies among his officers, and in cultivating kind and friendly feelings among them, by the tact and courtesy of Mrs. Washington, who made a visit to him at his head-quarters in Cambridge during the fall of 1775. He had led her to hope, when he was appointed to the command of the armies early in the summer, that he should be able to return to Mount Vernon in the fall; and when he found, as the autumn came on, that there was no probability that he would be released during the winter, he sent to invite her to come to Massachusetts and visit him in camp.

MOUNT VERNON IN DANGER.

Another reason why Washington desired that his wife should come to him, was because such was the state of things in Virginia that it was no longer safe for her to remain at Mount Vernon. Lord Dunmore, the British governor of Virginia, was beginning to adopt very decided measures to crush out the spirit of rebellion in that colony, and was proceeding very vigorously against all the people there within his reach, that he supposed to favor the cause of the colonies. Mount Vernon being on the banks of the Potomac, was exposed to receive a visit at

any time from a man-of-war, and there was thought to be danger that Lord Dunmore might send a vessel up the river to destroy the place, and also perhaps to capture the family with a view of holding them as hostages, or otherwise making use of his possession of them to restrain or control the action of the commander-in-chief.

ARRIVAL OF MRS. WASHINGTON AT CAMBRIDGE.

Mrs. Washington made the journey from Virginia to Massachusetts in a style comporting, according to the ideas of those times, with the rank and position of her husband. It was considered much more essential then than now,—and especially so in Virginia—to mark the distinction of rank and wealth with appropriate symbols, in respect to dress and equipage and ceremony. These ideas were derived in the first instance from England where they still prevail, and they acquired a great ascendency in those days among the aristocratic families of Virginia. Washington himself when he came on from Philadelphia to take command of the army, traveled in considerable state—being accompanied by a military escort, and received with parade and military honors at all the large cities through which he passed. His headquarters were established at a large and handsome

ARRIVAL OF MRS. WASHINGTON IN CAMP.

house in Cambridge, and he maintained in his mode of life there those observances of ceremony and etiquette, and formalities of parade which were demanded by public sentiment in those days in the case of persons occupying an elevated position in society, and especially in those exercising an exalted command.

Mrs. Washington made her journey in a private carriage, drawn by four horses. The horses were driven by black postillions dressed in an elegant livery of scarlet and white. She was accompanied by her son, and his wife—for her son had grown to manhood and been married, though her daughter had died.

She was received on her arrival with military honors, and was welcomed by the soldiers of the army and by the people of the vicinity, with loud acclamations.

INFLUENCE OF MRS. WASHINGTON IN CAMP.

The presence of Mrs. Washington at her husband's head-quarters exerted a very important influence in soothing the jealousies of the various officers, and producing harmony and good feeling among them. This effect was the result of the courtesy and kindness which marked her demeanor toward them, and the tact which she displayed in

apportioning her hospitality and her attentions among them with some proper regard to their relative rank and influence, and in such a manner that none were neglected. Before she came, Washington himself had little time to attend to such details, and the invitations which he gave his officers to dinner parties, or to other entertainments at his house, according to the usages of a military camp in those days, were not so nicely regulated as always to avoid giving rise to jealousies and wounded feelings on the part of certain sensitive persons who sometimes imagined themselves neglected.

The general himself could only regret that men of sense engaged in so great a cause could allow their minds to be disturbed by such petty considerations of etiquette and punctilio. But Mrs. Washington removed the temptation from their minds by so arranging and regulating the mode and measure of her husband's hospitalities as to produce general satisfaction and good feeling.

CALLS FOR HELP AND PROTECTION FROM THE COAST.

Washington himself, moreover, had difficulties of a much graver character than these to contend with. One of the most serious of his perplexities was caused by the demands which soon began to come to him from various points along the sea-coast, for de-

tachments from the army to protect towns exposed to incursions from the enemy, made either for the purpose of obtaining forage, or supplies, or to harass and distress the inhabitants. As soon as the British commanders found themselves surrounded in Boston, and hemmed in there by so large an insurrectionary force that it was not prudent for them to attack it at once in the open field, while yet it cut them off from all supplies from the country, they began to send out small expeditions along the coast, in vessels of war, with orders to procure supplies, and in case of resistance to burn the towns. The places exposed to these attacks naturally desired to be protected, and urgent demands began to pour in upon the commander-in-chief that he should send detachments of troops to this place and that, to prevent the landing of the forces from the vessels.

These calls Washington was compelled to refuse. He had scarcely force enough to hold his ground against the army in Boston, and the places exposed were so numerous that to have attempted to guard them all would have required the dispersion of his whole force along the coast, leaving the interior of the country open to the advance of the British army. The refusal, however, produced a great deal of discontent and ill-feeling. "Why did we," said the

people along the sea-board, "send our sons and brothers to keep guard around Boston, and leave our own towns and our own homes entirely unprotected and exposed?"

INSUBORDINATION AND UNMANAGEBLENESS OF THE MEN.

In addition to these troubles the condition of the army itself was such as to fill the mind of the general with great and constantly increasing anxiety. At the first alarm that was sounded through the country, on the occasion of the battle of Lexington, great numbers of young and ardent men seized their arms and hastened to camp. But no one had any idea that this insurrectionary movement was to be the commencement of a long war. The separation of the colonies from the mother country was not at all intended, at this time, and the only aim of the rising, so far as any definite conception of the object in view was formed by the people at large, was to make such a demonstration of the fixed purpose of the people not to submit to taxation by Parliament, as to induce the government to abandon the policy.

They therefore, in seizing their arms and rushing to the vicinity of Boston, expected only to be absent from their homes a few days or weeks,—and when they found that the case was assuming the form of a settled and permanent state of hostility, and that

they were to be organized into a regular army, to serve for a long term, and to be subjected to strict discipline, they became almost wholly unmanageable.

There was among them an abundance of that ardor and enthusiasm that is aroused by any exciting emergency, suddenly occurring and soon to pass away; and they were, also, as their conduct at Lexington and Bunker Hill fully evinced, courageous and resolute in coming up promptly to any real work assigned them, and standing firmly to it, in the midst of the most appalling danger;—but to be called upon as they now were to give up all that had been dear to them in life, to surrender their liberty, their independence, and everything like freedom of action, for no one knew how long, and bend their necks under the yoke of that rigid discipline and that dull routine of confinement, privation, humiliating submission to petty authority, and inglorious hardship and exposure which constitutes the ordinary life of the soldier entering upon a long campaign, was a demand upon their patriotism for which they were wholly unprepared.

It seemed for a time impossible to remedy the evils of this state of things. No gentle measures could ever reduce such a heterogeneous mass of independent, free thinking, and free speaking men

to an organized and efficient army,—and any harsh measures would drive them altogether away.

NO AMMUNITION.

Another source of difficulty and danger, which might by the merest accident have proved fatal to the cause, was the almost total destitution of the army, if army it might be called, of ammunition and of military stores. Of course the first duty which devolved upon the general in taking command was to arrange the system of organization, and to distribute the different bodies of troops at the various points along the line held by them, in order to guard, at every point, against a sudden attack from the enemy. In making these dispositions Washington had called for a return of the quantity of gunpowder on hand, and by some mistake the whole quantity which the province had procured at the outset was reported as the amount then on hand,—when in fact almost the whole of it had been expended at Lexington and Bunker Hill. At length, however, in making a call for a quantity of cartridges to supply the troops at a particular point, Washington discovered to his great alarm, it might almost be said to his consternation, that there was not powder enough in his whole army, even for a considerable skirmish. If the British had been aware of the state of things

they could have marched out of Boston and advanced upon any part of his lines, and after receiving the first fire would have found the whole colonial force entirely in their power.

NECESSITY OF REMEDYING THESE EVILS WITHOUT MAKING THEM KNOWN.

The worst feature of the situation in which Washington was placed, was that it was necessary to contrive some way of remedying these evils without making them known. Of course if the British commander in Boston should obtain any glimpse of the real state of things in the American camps, he would at once have made a general attack upon them, and Washington knew very well that there were plenty of persons all around him to give the information if once it should transpire. There were a great many people at this time,—many of them wealthy, influential, and well-informed,—that secretly or openly sympathized with the British government, and wished that the rebellion should be put down. The lines had not been then distinctly drawn, and no one knew certainly who were friends or who were enemies. It was, therefore, not safe to reveal such a secret as the total want of ammunition in the army to any one; far less to communicate it to any legislative body or executive com

mittee in any one of the colonies. Washington did not dare even to make known the destitution and disorganization of his army to the Continental Congress, but was obliged to call upon them very urgently for means of remedying difficulties and averting dangers, the very existence of which he was obliged carefully to conceal from them.

WASHINGTON ALMOST IN DESPAIR.

The difficulties and embarrassments with which the commander-in-chief thus found himself surrounded became so great in the course of the summer, and all the efforts which he made to provide remedies for them were so utterly baffled, that he was at last reduced almost to a state of despair. In some of his letters to a confidential friend he said that his anxiety caused him many sleepless hours at night, when all around him were in repose; and that if he had known the difficulties and trials which he should be called to encounter, he should have greatly preferred to have shouldered his musket and taken his place in the ranks; or, if he could have reconciled such a course with his sense of duty to his country, he should have been far happier to have abandoned everything, and have retired with his family into the wilderness and lived

there, like the Indians, in a wigwam, than to have assumed the command.

DISCONTENT AND DISSATISFACTION OF THE PEOPLE.

The worst of the trials which he had to endure was the discontent of the people, and the many complaints which they made of his inefficiency and inactivity, all of which he was obliged to endure in silence, since the causes which made any decisive action impossible could not be explained to them. It was an exceedingly severe trial for a man of so lofty a spirit as Washington, and one accustomed, as he had been for many years, to receive every possible mark of consideration and honor from his fellow men, to be obliged to rest quietly for many months under undeserved censure, and to be the object of general dissatisfaction and complaint from which he could only defend himself by revelations that would greatly jeopardize the cause intrusted to his care. It was that peculiar cast and quality of mind which enabled Washington in circumstances like these to bear this obloquy, and keep his own counsel, and patiently persevere in the laborious, discouraging and unrequited exertion necessary to overcome the difficulties of his situation, which, far more than the military skill required for the manœuvring of armies, and the

courage evinced in leading troops into battle, constituted the crowning glory of the great chieftain, and made him the successful instrument of establishing the independence of his country.

FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE ARMY BEFORE BOSTON.

Washington was obliged to bear up as well as he could under these difficulties and trials through all the summer and autumn of 1775, and the winter of 1775–6; but at length, in the following spring, the time of action and of triumph came. Active operations were commenced; the result was that the British were compelled to evacuate Boston, and the country was everywhere filled with triumph and joy. The character of Washington and the wisdom of his measures were for the time fully vindicated, and the general confidence of the community in his eminent fitness for the supreme command was restored.

THE CONTEST FOR THE POSSESSION OF NEW YORK.

After the evacuation of Boston the scene of mili tary operations was transferred to the vicinity of New York, and here Washington had substantially the same course of experience to pass through as at Boston. But a small portion comparatively of the forces that had been under his command at Boston

could be transferred to the new sphere of operations, and still less could the organization of it be preserved. A new combination was made of new elements, and new difficulties were to be encountered, or rather the old difficulties presented themselves in new aspects and with new force. There was the same embarrassment from the jealousies and conflicting claims of the officers coming from the different colonies, and from the sectional prejudices and mutual animosities of the men; the same conflict of authority among the various governments represented; the same scarcity of supplies and munitions of war; and the same stern and invincible necessity of concealing deficiencies and wants, which, notwithstanding, could only be supplied by being made known.

WASHINGTON IS OVERPOWERED BY THE DIFFICULTIES OF HIS SITUATION.

The consequence was that with the utmost exertion Washington could not make a stand against the pressure of the vastly superior force of the enemy. He was driven back from one after another of the defences of New York, until the city and all the adjacent waters, with the forts and batteries which had been built to defend them, fell entirely into the enemy's hands. Even here the tide of ill

fortune did not cease to flow. His army was driven across the Hudson into New Jersey, and thence from post to post across the whole State of New Jersey into Pennsylvania.

A PARTY BEGINNING TO BE FORMED AGAINST HIM.

The consequence of this long series of disasters was the gradual formation of a party in the country disposed to question his qualifications for the high command that had been entrusted to him. He was too cautious, too slow to act, too fearful of risk. For such times and for such a work a man of greater resolution and energy was required, they said, and secret movements began to be made for removing him and putting a more capable man in his place.

THE PEOPLE NOT TO BE TOO SEVERELY CENSURED FOR THEIR DOUBTS AND MISGIVINGS.

With the strong light which in later times has been thrown upon Washington's situation, and upon the difficulties which he had to encounter and the resources which he could employ, it is now universally admitted that he did all that it was possible to do with the means at his command during the whole of this trying period, and we are at the present day strongly disposed to censure the fickleness of the public mind which was so inclined to

abandon him because he could not accomplish impossibilities. But the people judged then from the light which they had, and that light was not sufficient to show whether this long series of disasters was the result of incompetence in the commander, or of causes beyond his control. They judged by the immediate and apparent result, which is, after all, the only criterion by which military men can ever be judged by the general public that is contemporary with them.

THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON RETRIEVED.

At length the time came for a change in the aspect of affairs. The opportunity arrived, and Washington availed himself of it by crossing the Delaware in the night, in boats pushed through the floating ice, and gaining an important victory under circumstances which shewed to all mankind that he was ready for the most daring and energetic action when the occasion arrived that called for it. This first victory was followed by a series of others, in the course of which the British troops were driven back in their turn across the whole State of New Jersey, and finally expelled from the State entirely. Washington's fame was a second time vindicated, and all opposition to him was again completely silenced.

CHARACTER AND MOTIVES OF WASHINGTON'S ENEMIES.

It was silenced but not destroyed. For, as is always the case with persons holding high command and having the disposal of many offices and honors, he had rivals who became enemies only because they *were* rivals—that is, they wished for his place, in order that they might themselves exercise his power and dispense his patronage; and in their efforts to remove him it was of course necessary for them to assume an attitude of hostility themselves, and do all in their power to create a hostile public sentiment against him.

The party who took this antagonistic position against Washington contained many men of high position, and of much influence, both in political circles and in the army; but so long as Washington's measures were successful they were powerless. In triumphing over the public enemy he triumphed over them also, for they could do nothing except so far as they could carry public sentiment with them. They could only at such times withdraw from notice and remain silent, to bide their time.

The general public changed their opinion of the commander-in-chief as his fortunes changed, but these men did not change; for the case with them was not that they wished to remove him because they thought him incompetent,—but they wished

him to prove incompetent in order that he might be removed. When after a long and discouraging struggle he came out triumphant in the end, the *people* were pleased to find themselves mistaken, for it revived their hopes of the salvation of their country. The factious leaders, on the other hand, were disappointed and chagrined at his triumphs, for it destroyed, for the time at least, their hopes of possessing themselves of his place and power.

THE THIRD DARK PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

The third dark period of the revolution through which Washington was called to pass—the darkest, indeed, of all—was the winter of 1777—1778. After the British had been driven out of the State of New Jersey, and the great army of Burgoyne, coming down from Canada, had been surrounded and captured by the forces under General Gates, as fully narrated in the preceding volume of this series, the seat of the war was transferred to Philadelphia and its environs. Washington made every possible exertion to defend that city; but after a long and cruel struggle his troops were forced back from one position after another, until Philadelphia itself and all the neighboring waters fell into the hands of the enemy; and Washington and his men were reduced to a condition of discouragement, destitution and

suffering that was all but desperate. The difficulties and dangers which were surrounding and overwhelming the army seemed utterly irremediable. Congress had exhausted all its resources, and more than exhausted its credit. The men were half destitute of arms, of clothing, of food and of fuel, and there seemed no possible means of supplying any of these wants. Various governors were clamoring for troops to be sent to this point and to that to protect places exposed. The camp was filled with angry quarrels among the officers and mutinies among the men. Indeed, if men ever could have an excuse for mutiny and desertion, the troops in Washington's camp might well claim to be lightly judged. They were encamped in wretched huts at Valley Forge, in mid-winter, with very little fuel, bad and wholly insufficient food, great numbers of them barefooted, and so scantily supplied with clothes that they were obliged to take turns in wearing the outside garments necessary to keep them from perishing when they went into the woods to obtain fuel for their fires.

In a word the past campaign had been disastrous and there seemed to be no possible glimmer of hope that anything better was to come. A general feeling of gloom and despondency prevailed throughout the land.

THE OPPOSITION REVIVED.

Of course this state of things gave to the enemies of Washington a new opportunity. The combination against him was revived, and became more extended, determined, and persistent than ever.

No doubt a great many of those who joined in the movement honestly believed that Washington, though an excellent man in all moral points of view, and endued with many highly meritorious qualities of heart and mind, did not possess the commanding abilities, nor the energy, decision and vigor required for so eventful a crisis, and they joined their influence with that which began to press for his removal, from honest and worthy motives. And even those who combined against him with a view of displacing him in order to bring themselves into power, were probably not actuated by any real feeling of ill-will or hatred against him, or by any other specially malignant motives. We may call it selfishness if we choose, and a desire of personal aggrandizement, for no lofty or noble ends,—but it was only human nature after all in its normal and ordinary action, and not any special and particularly monstrous wickedness which led them to act as they did.

SUCH AN OPPOSITION UNAVOIDABLE.

In every case where a man is raised to a lofty position, and is engaged in a great work which puts

him in possession of extended power, he is always surrounded by a class of men who consider themselves next to him in the line of promotion, and who will be advanced in case he fails and gives way; and who, of course, have a direct interest in watching him narrowly, and in taking advantage of any misstep which he may make, or of any long continued want of success he may meet with. They form thus, as it were, a natural and permanent opposition around him. He cannot complain of this. It is in the nature of things that it should be so. Indeed, it is probably *best*, all things considered, that it should be so.

MEASURES RESORTED TO BY THE PARTY OPPOSED TO WASHINGTON.

Some of the opponents of Washington at this time are accused of resorting to covert, underhand, and ignoble means to effect his downfall. They wrote secret letters to undermine public confidence in him, and resorted to many manœuvres, both in Congress and in the army, to organize, extend and strengthen the party against him. These, the friends of Washington at the time, and many historians since have designated as intrigues. But the line of demarcation which both in politics and war separates honest operations, conducted with a proper

degree of prudence and privacy, from unworthy intrigues, is not very clearly drawn. It is probable on the whole, that though the fiery trial of enmity and opposition through which Washington had to pass in the darkest periods of his history, was very painful and severe, it was not any more so than is inevitable, in such a world as this, for a person engaged in so great a work, and one attended by obstacles, difficulties and discouragements so great and so long continued as to cause the scale to hang trembling in uncertainty in respect to the result, for so many years.

GENERAL GATES.

The person whom the opponents of Washington were inclined to bring forward as their leader, or rather as the commander whom they wished to put in his place, was General Gates. General Gates was really a very able officer, and an honest and excellent man, and he held at this time a particularly conspicuous position before the country on account of his recent success in defeating the grand expedition of Burgoyne, and capturing the whole of his army. How far he was himself directly concerned in the efforts made for supplanting Washington, has been a matter of dispute. There would, however, be nothing derogatory to his character in

the idea that supposing the people of the country to be in favor of a more active, energetic and decisive mode of conducting the war than Washington was pursuing, and to be disposed to bring him forward in the place of Washington to carry their wishes into effect, he was ready not only to acquiesce in their wishes, but to do what he could do honorably to facilitate the change.

He, however, made a solemn declaration at a subsequent period, that he had never been engaged in any plot or plan for the removal of General Washington, and that he did not believe that any such plot existed.

GENERAL CONWAY.

The person, undoubtedly, who was most active in these manœuvres to supersede Washington, was General Conway. He was an Irishman by birth, but had served in the American army from an early period, and had acquired a high rank in it, and considerable influence. He worked very much in the dark—mainly by private conversation, and by confidential correspondence with leading men both in the army and in Congress; but he was exceedingly active, so much so that at a later period, when his secret agency in the affair was brought to light, the conspiracy received the name of Conway's

Cabal. Many of the letters which he wrote were anonymous, and there were some forged letters purporting to be written by Washington himself, and which were calculated greatly to injure his character, and which Conway is supposed by many persons to have written.

For a time he seemed to make a good deal of progress in the work which he had undertaken, and parties were formed for and against Washington, which resulted in producing great excitement, and for a time threatened very serious consequences. In the end, however, the friends of Washington carried the day. He was retained in the command of the army. Some of the underhand and intriguing operations of Conway and his friends were discovered and exposed. The party was brought into discredit, and this dark and very threatening cloud passed away.

END OF GENERAL CONWAY.

Many private and personal quarrels arose out of this affair after the public excitement had subsided. Conway himself became involved in one of these collisions, which led to a duel in which he was very seriously wounded, and for a week or two it was supposed that the wound was mortal. Believing himself to be on his death-bed, he wrote a letter

of apology to Washington, expressing his sorrow for what he had done. The letter was as follows:

CONWAY'S LETTER.

"SIR:—I find myself just able to hold my pen for a few minutes, and I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written, or said anything disagreeable to your excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration and esteem of these states whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

"I am, with the greatest respect,

"THOMAS CONWAY."

This letter was written after the third of the dark periods in the history of the war had passed away, and Washington's policy and character was once more in the ascendant. The French government, which had secretly favored the rebellion from the beginning, were willing to take an open part in aiding it after the capture of the army of Burgoyne, and the alliance began now to produce its effect. A French fleet arrived in the American waters, and Lafayette and other French officers rendered an efficient coöperation with the forces on

land. From this time the cause of the Americans went on more and more successfully, until at length the capture of another army, that of Cornwallis, at Yorktown, completed the discouragement of the English government and people, and disposed them to submit to negotiations of peace.

CHAPTER V.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

CHRONOLOGY.

It is desirable that the reader, in studying the history of the revolutionary war, should keep in mind the dates of some of the principal events which marked the progress and termination of it. The war commenced by the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, in the spring and early summer of 1775. The first great success of the American arms—the expulsion of the British troops from Boston—was achieved about a year later, in the spring and early summer of 1776, and on July the Fourth of that year independence was declared.

The second and third great advantages gained, namely, the expulsion of the British from New Jersey, and the capture of Burgoyne's army, took place in 1777,—the former in the winter and the latter in the autumn following, of the same year.

The treaty of alliance between the United States and France, through which the Americans received

very important foreign aid, in men, in ships and in money, during the remainder of the war, went into operation in 1778.

The contest was continued after this principally in the southern states, through the years 1779, 1780 and 1781, with varying success, but chiefly to the advantage of the British, their forces advancing to the northward through South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, until at last their principal army, under Lord Cornwallis, was surrounded at Yorktown, in the fall of 1781.

This event virtually ended the active operations of the war. A period of negotiation ensued, which terminated, after many difficulties and much delay, in a treaty of peace, which was concluded in 1783, and by which the independence of the United States was acknowledged.

The nature of these negotiations, and the difficulties which attended them, will form the subject of this chaper.

COMPLICATED NATURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

The work of opening and conducting the negotiations was by no means so simple an operation as it might seem. In the first place there could be no direct communication between the parties. It is wholly beneath the dignity of any regularly con-

stituted government to treat with rebels, or hold any direct official intercourse of any kind with them; and as long as the independence of America was not acknowledged by Great Britain, the Continental Congress, and all the forces under their control, could be considered by the king and his government only as a band of rebels. Thus, even supposing that both sides were willing to make peace, there was this difficulty in the way, that the independence could not be acknowledged without some previous negotiation about terms and conditions,—and this negotiation could not be commenced until the independence was acknowledged.

IMPLICATION OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN THE QUARREL.

Besides this, the question could not be settled by the United States and England alone. There was not only the French government, which had been an open ally of the Americans during the latter portion of the war, and which was of course entitled to have its own interests recognized and provided for in settling the terms of peace, but there were other nations that had in one way and another been so far drawn into the quarrel that their interests were more or less involved in the settlement of it. The principal of these nations were Spain and Holland.

THE CASE OF HOLLAND.

The circumstances under which Holland, was drawn into the war, were quite remarkable. Holland, like most of the other countries of Europe, was engaged in systems of policy which conflicted with those of England in various parts of the world, and her government had long secretly wished for the success of the American revolution, since it would tend to impair the power and prestige of Great Britain, but had not ventured openly to aid the insurgents. At length, however, in 1779, some secret correspondence took place between a member of the government of Holland, named Van Berkel and the American Congress, in consequence of which a commissioner was appointed to proceed to Holland with a view of endeavoring to negotiate a loan there for the purpose of raising funds, and also of obtaining from the Dutch government a recognition of American independence.

HENRY LAURENS.

The commissioner appointed was Henry Laurens, a South Carolinian of wealth and distinction, who had taken a prominent part in the councils of the leaders of the revolution in America, and who had been for two years a member of the Continental Congress.

CAPTURE OF LAURENS.

Mr. Laurens sailed from this country in 1779 but the vessel in which he took passage was intercepted off Newfoundland, by a British frigate, and captured. When Laurens saw that the frigate was close upon them, and that it was impossible to escape, he went to his cabin and brought up a package containing all his papers and threw it overboard.

This movement was however observed on board the frigate, a boat was let down and the papers recovered.

Laurens himself was immediately seized, and closely confined on board the ship. He was conveyed to London and imprisoned in the Tower, where he was quite harshly treated, being considered as a convicted traitor and rebel. He was not allowed the use of pen and ink, and was not permitted to hold intercourse with any friends in England who might be disposed to visit him.

HE REMAINS FAITHFUL AND FIRM.

The harshness, however, with which he was treated is not to be attributed to a spirit of resentment, far less to wanton cruelty on the part of the British Government, but rather to a motive of policy. Their design was to intimidate and discourage their prisoner, in the hope of inducing

nim in the end to abandon the American cause and aid the ministry, by his influence in America, in bringing the people to submission. He was twice approached with offers of liberty and large rewards if he would give up the contest. But he rejected these offers at once, and in the most decided manner.

THE CAPTURE OF THE PAPERS LEADS TO WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND.

The package of papers which had been recovered from the sea proved, on examination in London, to contain the correspondence between Van Berkel and the American government, which showed very conclusively that the Dutch government was secretly aiding the rebellion. The English ministers were made very indignant by this discovery. They immediately demanded that the Dutch government should disavow the action of Van Berkel and dismiss him from office. This the government refused to do, and the English government then declared war against Holland.

VARIOUS COMPLICATIONS.

The material interests of France and Spain were involved in the settlement of the question between England and America on account of Louisiana and Florida, between which and the territory which had belonged to Great Britain boundaries were to be

fixed. In addition to these complications there were several perplexing questions in respect to the boundary line between the United States and Canada; for Canada, not having joined in the revolt, could not be included in the claim for independence.

There was, moreover, the great question of the fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, which had long been a great source of wealth to the English people—employing as they did great numbers of vessels and men, and affording vast profits to all concerned in them.

PARTY CONFLICTS IN CONGRESS IN RESPECT TO THE APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS.

The sending of commissioners to the different courts of Europe was a measure resorted to many years before the conclusion of the war, and the appointment of the commissioners led to serious and protracted conflicts in Congress. Besides the personal rivalries and contentions resulting from the ambition of individuals, the interests of the different sections of the country were not the same. The southern States felt naturally the greatest concern in respect to the understanding to be secured with France and Spain, on account of the boundary between them and the provinces of Louisiana and

Florida, and the navigation of the Mississippi involved in that question, for the mouth of that river was in French territory. The northern States, on the other hand, were more interested in the Canadian boundary, and the question of the fisheries of Newfoundland, in which the people of New England only were engaged. These questions and difficulties led to many very earnest contests among the political leaders, both in Congress and throughout the country at large, and could only be settled at last by a sort of tacit understanding that the appointments should be fairly proportioned among the different sections that were differently interested in the results.

THE COMMISSIONERS.

The principal persons who were engaged in the final negotiation of the treaty were Laurens, Adams, Franklin and Jay. Laurens, after being confined in the Tower of London for more than a year, was liberated at last by the English government when they found that negotiations for peace must be commenced, and he had been sent to Paris to assist in the conduct of them. Franklin had been for some time in Paris, and Adams in Holland, while Jay had been engaged in negotiations in Spain. In due time, however, when the British government

had finally found themselves compelled to open negotiations, these commissioners all assembled at Paris, and there the convention was finally concluded.

Of these commissioners Laurens might be supposed to reflect the views and opinions of the southern States, Adams those of New England, and Jay and Franklin those of New York and Philadelphia.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Of all these men Benjamin Franklin was the most distinguished among the upper classes of society on the continent of Europe, on account of his reputation as a philosopher. He had created a great sensation by some of his scientific discoveries, especially by his grand experiment of the electrical kite, by which he demonstrated the identity of origin in the electrical phenomena of the lecture-room and the thunder and lightning of the skies.

This identity had been suspected, but had not been proved until at length Franklin, in 1752, from a little tool-house in his garden near Philadelphia, sent up a kite into a thunder cloud, and by means of a metallic thread in the string drew down the electricity from it, and produced the same effects with it, as the philosophers had been accustomed to

FRANKLIN AND THE ELECTRICAL KITE.

produce with the electricity developed by their machines.

The fame of this experiment, joined to certain striking personal characteristics which marked the conduct and social intercourse of Franklin, mad him very conspicuous at the time among the commissioners, though in respect to actual negotiation of the treaty history assigns the most prominent part to Jay.

COMPLICATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES ON THE BRITISH SIDE.

The complications and difficulties attendant on the negotiation of the treaty were not altogether confined to the Americans. There was a long struggle, accompanied by violent dissensions and disputes, in the British parliament, before a majority was gained in favor of abandoning the war. Then when parliament had been brought over, the king was extremely reluctant to acknowledge himself conquered by a rebellion. And when at length he finally yielded, a great many technical embarrassments and questions of etiquette and ceremony intervened, arising from the difficulty of opening negotiations for acknowledging the independence of a power, without virtually recognizing its independence by the very act of opening the negotiations.

THE QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT.

The only mode by which a change on the part of the British government in any great system of policy can usually be effected is by the party in parliament, opposed to that policy, gradually increasing until it becomes a majority. When this occurs the ministry must resign, and a new ministry, composed of men in favor of the new measures, must be appointed in their places, for it is impossible for the government to be carried on without the concurrence of the house of commons.

Consequently, however strongly the king himself may be opposed to a change, he can but submit when the majority of the house of commons has come to a decision in favor of it.

There had been a strong party in the house of commons and in the country, opposed to the war from the beginning, and this party was gradually increased as the war went on, and the different European nations began to be drawn into it, or rather to avail themselves of the opportunity offered by it to advance their own claims and interests as against England, in various parts of the world. Of course every defeat of the British arms in America gave a great impulse to the opposition in parliament, and tended greatly to discourage the friends of the party in power.

EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

The surrender of Cornwallis and his army took place about the middle of October, 1781, and the news of the event reached England toward the end of November, just before the opening of parliament. It produced a great effect. A resolution was soon brought forward, declaring

"That any further attempt to reduce the Americans by force would be ineffectual and injurious."

After an exciting debate the vote was taken. The ministry made great exertions to rally all their friends, and they succeeded in defeating the proposed resolution, though by a majority very much reduced from that of former votes on the question.

This was near the middle of December. The Christmas holidays came on soon afterward, when parliament is always adjourned. During the interval it was evident that public opinion was moving rapidly in the direction of opposition to the war, and when parliament assembled, after the recess, the question was brought up again, in the form of a proposed address to the king, requesting his majesty to put a stop to the war.

Notwithstanding all the influence which the ministry could bring to bear against this proposal, it was lost by only one vote.

A few days afterward it was brought forward again and carried.

The ministry were of course compelled to resign, that their places might be supplied by a new ministry opposed to the further prosecution of the war.

AN ALTERNATIVE STILL PRESENTED.

This did not, however, entirely settle the question of independence; for of those who were opposed to the farther continuance of the war a considerable number still believed that by giving up the original point in dispute—that is, the claim of the Americans that their own legislatures should have the exclusive right to levy taxes upon them—just as the English legislature—that is, the parliament—had the exclusive right to levy taxes upon the English people—and also by making other concessions, if desired, by which the colonies should hold practically the entire control of their local government—they might be induced to waive their demand for a formal and absolute separation from the mother country. It would of course greatly diminish the humiliation of England in giving up the contest if some semblance of union between the crown and the revolted provinces could be restored and maintained.

ATTEMPT TO SEPARATE AMERICA FROM FRANCE.

There was another point, which was likewise a kind of point of honor, or rather a question of pride, with the English statesmen in this emergency. The English government was very indignant against France for having interfered in a quarrel between the King of England and his own subjects, and for having aided and abetted them in their rebellion, especially as by so doing she had been in a great measure the means of enabling the traitors to accomplish their ends. And now, by consenting that France should be joined to America in the treaty of peace, they seemed to be in some measure recognizing and acknowledging, if not actually sanctioning, the alliance and union between them.

Besides this, it was in itself a very humiliating thing for a great sovereign to be compelled openly to allow a rival and hostile power to come in as a party to be consulted and satisfied, in the settlement of a quarrel between himself and his own subjects.

The English statesmen were accordingly very desirous of securing two points in the coming negotiations; first, to separate France entirely from America in the conduct of them, and secondly so to settle the quarrel as to retain some nominal con-

nection still between the colonies and the mother country.

ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE WITH WASHINGTON AND CONGRESS.

With a view perhaps of separating the American from the French government in the negotiations, and dealing only with the former, instructions were sent out to the general-in-chief of the British armies in America to open a communication on the subject of peace with Washington and with the Congress. Congress replied, however, that they had clothed the commissioners at Paris with full powers to act for the American government in the negotiations to be opened, and declined taking any action on the subject in any other way.

THE THREE ESSENTIALS.

The British government finally sent a commissioner to Paris with powers to arrange with the American commissioners there the terms and conditions of a treaty. The name of the British agent was Oswald. He was not a member of the government, but a merchant of London, appointed by the ministry especially for this service. He at once proceeded to Paris in order to perform his duty. This was in the summer of 1782.

His instructions were to ascertain whether there

was any possibility of arranging the settlement in such a way as still to preserve some connection between the colonies and the mother country; but he soon found that this was entirely out of the question. The commissioners declared that there were three essential conditions that must be agreed to before they would enter into any negotiations at all. Those three points were absolute independence, a satisfactory boundary, and a right to participation in the fisheries.

Finding the commissioners firm on these points, Oswald returned to London to report and to receive fresh instructions.

TECHNICALITIES AND POINTS OF ETIQUETTE.

After receiving these instructions Oswald went back again to Paris to renew the discussions. He arrived there early in September. On meeting the commissioners he produced his credentials in order that the commissioners might see that he was duly authorized to act. They observed that the language of the document was that he was empowered "to conclude a peace with *certain colonies*."

Jay objected to this phraseology. The parties with whom the negotiation was to be made were not colonies, he urged, but independent states,

having declared themselves such in 1776, six years before, and having maintained that declaration during the whole intervening period. For them to open negotiations as colonies, he contended, would be a virtual abandonment of the whole ground for which the battle had been fought, and that after the victory had been won.

Franklin, who was a man of plain practical common sense,—accustomed to look at the substance rather than the form in all transactions in which he was engaged,—while he admitted the force of this objection, was not inclined to insist upon it. He argued that though the British government might still use the word colonies, the very act of treating with them was in itself a recognition of their independence as a power; and that the objection to the technical informality might be waived. But Jay was a lawyer, and he knew very well how important in certain contingencies the legal effect of the language of the document might become.

He argued, furthermore, that the object of the treaty was not to *create* the independence of the American states nor even to procure an acknowledgment of it. The independence was a fact. The acknowledgment of that fact by the British government was to be the act of that government alone. No treaty was required for that. Indeed no treaty

could be made until that act had been performed. Whether the British Government would or would not recognize the fact of American independence was a preliminary question for the government alone to consider. If they decided that they could not recognize it, then no negotiations could be opened; for no government can negotiate or make treaties except with an acknowledged power. If, on the other hand, they decided that they did recognize the American government as an independent power, then the commissioners were ready to enter upon the negotiation of a treaty to define the relations which the two powers were to sustain to each other in their future intercourse; but it was obviously required, as a preliminary step, that the American government should be acknowledged as an independent power, capable of making such a contract, before the negotiation of it could be commenced.

These views prevailed and Oswald returned to London to obtain a change in the phraseology and tenor of his instructions.

TRUE CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH INTERVENTION.

Although the Americans, as was very natural and very proper, felt a certain sense of obligation to their allies for the aid which they had rendered

them in the war, it must not be supposed that the French were actuated in rendering this assistance, by any generous principle of justice, in behalf of the weak contending for their rights against the strong, still less from any sentiment of friendship or special good will for the American people. There is no such thing as generosity or friendship as a principle of action among nations,—and no proper foundation for gratitude, such as is called for by disinterested kindness, or by favors bestowed without expectation of return. In all its dealings with the external world, every nation, as a nation, acts solely with a view to its own interests. Governments in fact have very little authority to act otherwise than with a single view to the advantage of their own people.

The aid which the French government gave to the Americans in the war of the revolution formed no exception to this general rule Individuals may have been influenced by generous and self-sacrificing motives, but the government was led to the course it pursued solely by the desire to divide and diminish the power of its ancient and eternal rival and enemy, Great Britain.

They joined, accordingly, with the American government in the war, because by so doing they could the better accomplish certain objects of their

own. The Americans were thus under just the same obligation to the French for aiding them to establish their independence that the French were to the Americans for the assistance that the revolution afforded them in humbling and weakening their ancient enemy.

INTERFERENCE OF FRENCH AND AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE QUESTION OF PEACE.

While the war continued the French and the Americans acted in harmony, for their interests and ends were the same. Both wished to inflict as much injury as possible upon the British military power, and to make the separation of the colonies from the mother country complete and perpetual. But when the terms and conditions of peace came to be discussed, the interests of the two governments were found to be very diverse. Each naturally wished to gain advantages for itself, and in order to accomplish this end endeavored to induce the other to be satisfied with little, in order that whatever of a spirit of concession the English government were disposed to evince, might be made available in obtaining for its own side the more.

THE WESTERN BOUNDARY.

There was a great deal of discussion during these negotiations in respect to the boundaries of the ter-

ritory to be held by the United States. The country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was then almost entirely uninhabited by white men, and the French and Spaniards who held large tracts of country south of the United States and west of the Mississippi, claimed that the country east of the river, as far as to the mountains should not be included. To this, however, the commissioners would not consent. They insisted on the Mississippi as the western boundary.

THE FISHERIES.

Another question related to the right of the Americans to a participation in the Newfoundland fisheries. The French minister endeavored to persuade the commissioners to give up this claim, and to be content with the fisheries on the coast. But to this the commissioners would by no means consent.

The Newfoundland fisheries were of great importance to the New England people, and especially to the people of Massachusetts. But besides this there was a national object to be obtained in retaining this branch of industry, and that was the securing for the country a large class of efficient seamen to be ready for the naval service in case of future wars.

DIPLOMACY.

In diplomacy as in war, a great number of manœuvres and modes of management are practiced which are considered right and proper enough by the party that practices them, but which, when brought to light, are thought treacherous and dishonorable by the other party. The operation which those who are to gain by it consider only as adroit management, or ingenious stratagem, those who are to lose denounce as perfidy and fraud. There seems to have been a good deal of this kind of work among the various parties concerned in this complicated negotiation. There was secret correspondence carried on, and attempts made by each party to foment divisions and jealousies between the other two, and letters intercepted and shown to parties from whom they were intended to be concealed, and many other manœuvres of quite a questionable character. It is very natural for us, as Americans, to say that there was nothing of this kind in the conduct of *our* representatives in this transaction, and probably the French and the English would say the same in respect to theirs.

CLAIMS OF COMPENSATION FOR THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS.

The difficulties of the negotiation did not arise altogether from the claims made by the French and

the Americans. The English on their part demanded some indemnification for the losses which the loyalists of New York, Boston and other large cities had sustained in consequence of the part they took against the colonies in the revolution. Some of these persons had had their property confiscated. Others had been obliged to fly precipitately from their homes, and had suffered great loss and damage.

Now most of the commissioners had taken a very active part in the measures which the different states had adopted against these loyalists during the whole period of the war, and were of course now extremely unwilling to engage that anything like restitution should be made to them for the damage they had suffered for having taken part against their countrymen. After much debate and much urgent insisting on both sides, the American commissioners finally agreed that there should be no farther proceedings taken against such of the loyalists as remained in the country, and that the general government should moreover recommend to the several states to restore the property which had already been confiscated, though they frankly admitted that Congress had no power to compel them to comply with the recommendation, nor did the commissioners think that there was much probability that they would comply with it of their own accord.

TERMS OF THE TREATY FINALLY AGREED UPON.

The principal points of the treaty, as it was finally arranged, were, that the independence of the thirteen states was formally and fully acknowledged, with the line of the St. Lawrence and the lakes for the Northern boundary, and the river Mississippi for the Western boundary, of the territory. The Americans were to have the free navigation of the Mississippi River, but the St. Lawrence was to be under the exclusive control of the English. Both nations were to have free access to the Newfoundland fishing ground.

LONG PROTRACTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

The war virtually ceased when the negotiations were commenced, but it was a long time before the treaty was formally signed and ratified and the British troops actually withdrawn from the country. It was in the spring of 1782 that parliament came to the decision to abandon the war. In the course of the summer of that year the negotiations were commenced in Paris. In November the preliminaries were agreed upon and signed, but the discussions that arose in drawing up the formal treaty occupied nearly a year longer, so that it was not until September, 1783, that the treaty was actually and finally signed.

FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

The final evacuation of the country by the British troops took place a month later, from New York. The different portions of the army had previously been gradually concentrated at that point, and when the time arrived for their departure, the British general, Sir Guy Carleton, gave notice of their intended embarkation to General Washington, in order that he might be ready to take possession of the several posts in the vicinity of the city, and of the city itself, in succession, as the British troops should be withdrawn.

A conference was then held in the vicinity of the city between Sir Guy Carleton, General Washington, and Governor Clinton, the governor of New York, to arrange together the details of the evacuation. The twenty-fifth of November was fixed upon as the day.

The embarkation commenced at the appointed time, and as fast as the troops were withdrawn from the different posts, the forces of the Americans entered, took possession, and raised the national flag. When at last the city itself was left free, the Americans entered it, in a grand procession. General Washington and Governor Clinton led the way, escorted by a troop of horsemen. They were followed by a large number of other officers of rank

both civil and military, and by a long column of citizens on horseback and on foot.

In the evening the whole city was given up to festivities, military salutes, fireworks, illuminations and general rejoicings. The last British soldier had gone and the country was at peace.

The anniversary of the evacuation continued to be celebrated by the inhabitants of New York for many years.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISBANDING OF THE ARMY

RESIGNATION OF WASHINGTON.

As soon as the great object for which war had been organized and the armies raised—namely, the independence of the country—had been secured, Washington resigned his commission, thus divesting himself of the great military power which had been placed in his hands, and quietly retiring to private life. His doing this so promptly has justly been considered by mankind as an act which separates him by a marked line of distinction from all other heroes and conquerors that had in previous times, and in various ages of the world, succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the military power in their respective countries.

He alone of all the great commanders that have figured conspicuously in this world's history did not assume, when the battle was fought and the victory won, that he himself was the only man of all the millions interested who was capable of safely

and successfully wielding the power which his military work had created. Julius Cæsar, Alexander, Charlemagne, the Napoleons—each, having established an empire, deemed it essential to secure the sovereignty of it to themselves and their descendants. Washington, as soon as his work of laying the foundation was done, and the existence and independence of the nation was secured, resigned his power into the hands of those who had conferred it, and retired.

THE NATURE OF THE GREATNESS OF WASHINGTON.

Washington was, as it were, the first of a new class of great men, such as the world before his day had scarcely known,—that is, of men who acquire renown not by imposing their ideas and enforcing their will upon their countrymen, but by embodying and carrying into effect the ideas and determinations which their countrymen had previously formed. Washington did not originate the idea of the independence of America, as perhaps Julius Cæsar did that of the universal empire which he founded. The conception of American independence and nationality was gradually developed in the public opinion of a widely extended, intelligent and well informed community. Washington was called upon to give effect to the will of this community, and for

this purpose vast powers were put into his hands. When the work was accomplished he resigned the power, and returned to his retirement, leaving to that great community itself the entire responsibility of future action.

ASSUMPTIONS OF OTHER FOUNDERS OF EMPIRE

Other men who have been the means of founding empires have never pretended to be guided by the intelligence of any community, either in respect to the end to be attained or to the means of attaining it, but only to use its force as a means of attaining their own ends. They claim—or one of them, at least, claims for them—that when such men arise, and assume command over their fellow men, the nations whom they have succeeded in subjecting have only to listen to their voice and obey. Washington made no such claim, and assumed no such power. It was the voice of his country that was uttered, and he himself heard and obeyed.

THE SOLDIERS.

The dismission of the soldiers from the service was not so easily to be arranged, on account of difficulties arising from their arrears of pay, and other claims which they made against the government, and the unwillingness of the men to lay down

their arms until their rights were secured to them. Several times during the war very serious complications had arisen from the inability of the government to fulfil its obligations to the men in respect to clothing, provisions and pay. Mutinies leading to serious outbreaks several times occurred, and on one occasion a whole encampment of thirteen hundred men broke into open revolt, and after deposing the commissioned officers put the sergeants in their places, and set out on their march to Philadelphia, there to make a personal demand upon Congress for the redress of their grievances.

THE REVOLT IN 1781.

This occurrence took place in 1781, the year before the opening of negotiations for peace, and about six months before the capture of Cornwallis. The troops that were concerned in the revolt were those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. They were encamped in winter quarters in Morristown, in the middle of New Jersey. Washington was at that time on the Hudson, a little above New York, to protect the country there, and the river, from the incursions of the British, who were in strong force in the city. In a word, it was during one of the most critical periods of the war that this difficulty occurred.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLT.

In respect to the questions at issue between the soldiers and the government, the mutineers, it would seem, were altogether in the right. The hardships, privations and trials which they endured were pitiable in the extreme. Their clothes were worn to rags; their shoes were well nigh gone; they were wholly unprovided with blankets or outside garments; and they had very little fuel for fires. The only means of protection from the cold that they could command was the shelter of wretched huts, which they built themselves, in cold and hunger. They had had no pay for months. In a word, they were reduced to the lowest extreme of destitution and misery that men could endure and live.

The officers did all in their power to sustain and encourage them, by sharing their exposures and fatigues, and they succeeded by these means, and by many strict precautions, in preventing an outbreak for some time.

The government declared that they had made, and were still making, every possible exertion to remedy these evils, but it was utterly out of their power to do it at once, though they made continual promises of relief soon to come. Their means, both of money and of credit were entirely exhausted, and Congress knew not what to do to procure future supplies.

And yet the means and resources of the country were ample. For, during all this time, while the soldiers in camp were enduring these miseries, the cities, the large towns, and wide regions of fertile country were filled with hundreds of thousands of families, who, though suffering many inconveniences from the war, were still living at their homes in comfort and plenty, many of them enjoying all the refinements and pleasures of luxury and wealth. They remained at their homes and firesides unconcerned, while these poor outcasts put into the field to fight for their protection, were left to sink through all the successive stages of want and misery into utter despair.

WHY CONGRESS COULD NOT ACT EFFECTUALLY.

The reason why Congress was powerless to redress this wrong, was because the period when the difficulty occurred was during the time of the confederation, when the general government could only decide what should be done, while they were wholly dependent upon the *states* for the means to do it. This difficulty was afterward remedied, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, when the *union* was formed, under which the general government had not only authority to determine what should be done, but was clothed with power to carry its decrees

nto immediate execution by its own direct agency. Under the confederation, however, Congress could only decide, for example, that so much money or so many men should be raised, and then apportioning the amount among the several states, call upon each one to take measures for providing its share. How this operated will be more fully shown hereafter. It is sufficient here to say that it led to endless difficulties, delays and failures. Thus the men suffered because the concurrent action of fourteen independent powers was necessary for their relief, one to decide what was to be done, and the thirteen others to do it, by separate action,—one by one—at times and in ways as should by them be found to be convenient and agreeable.

THE CRISIS.

At length things were brought to a crisis in the encampment of the Pennsylvania troops above referred to, by a practical question which arose between the officers and many of the men, in which the officers felt bound to insist upon what the men considered an outrageous injustice. It seems that a large portion of the men had enlisted "for three years or during the war." It was not supposed at the time that the war would be protracted for more than three years, and the object of putting the con-

tract in that form was to enable the government to disband the troops, and so terminate their pay, at any time when the war should end.

The three years had now expired with many of the men, and they, finding their privations and sufferings no longer endurable demanded their discharge. But the officers claimed that they were enlisted *for the war*, whatever its duration might be, and refused to grant any of them a discharge.

On this a large body of Pennsylvania troops made a common cause, and openly revolted. An actual conflict ensued, in which one man was killed and many wounded. The malcontents were however victorious, and as has already been said, they set out in a body on a march to Philadelphia to demand of Congress, in session there, at least a recognition of what they deemed their rights, and some redress for their intolerable grievances.

This was a terrible irruption upon the country intervening—a body of thirteen hundred armed men, breaking loose from the authority of their commanders, and from the discipline of the camp, and commencing a march of a hundred miles through a defenceless country, and all in a state of excitement and exasperation, under a sense of what they deemed outrageous wrong.

DANGER AND DIFFICULTY OF THE SITUATION.

The officer in command of the revolted troops, or rather the one who had been in command of them—General Wayne—immediately despatched couriers in every direction to give the alarm. He sent one to General Washington at his headquarters, on the Hudson River, near New York, to inform him of what had occurred, another to Philadelphia to give notice to Congress, and others to all the intervening country, with orders to spread the alarm everywhere by ringing the bells and building signal fires on all the heights, for the purpose of calling out the militia. This was done, partly in the hope of assembling a sufficient force to intercept the progress of the mutineers, and, if this should be impossible, to enable the country through which they should pass, to protect themselves from depredation and plunder. And in order to diminish as much as possible the danger of violence, and to remove from the men the temptation and excuse that hunger would afford them, General Wayne sent on a supply of provisions after them, sufficient for their wants on the way.

WASHINGTON'S DANGER.

Washington's first impulse was to set off himself immediately in pursuit of the revolted troops, in

hopes of overtaking them, and by his personal influence persuading them to return to their duty.

But his own situation and that of the army under his immediate command were such that it was not safe to do this. There was a degree of suffering and discontent among these troops scarcely less than that of the body which had revolted. If he were to leave them a revolt might break out among them also. They were, moreover, very near the British lines; and the British officers, on learning the true state of the case, might make such offers to the men as to induce them to give up the cause of their country entirely, and go over in a body to the enemy.

ENDEAVOR OF THE BRITISH TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE DIFFICULTY.

The British general was, in fact, well apprised of what was taking place; and as soon as he was informed of the mutiny of the soldiers, and of their having commenced their march toward Philadelphia, he sent off at once several messengers to make their way through the country to the camp of the revolted troops, to offer them pardon, protection and ample pay if they would return to their allegiance to the king, and join his army.

At the same time he embarked with all haste, in

the midst of a pouring rain, a number of pieces of artillery and a considerable body of men, with orders to the detachment to proceed along the ersey shore, and to be ready to meet and receive the troops, if the messengers should succeed in persuading them to accept his offers, and to lead them down to the coast, where he would have transports ready to convey them to New York.

MEASURES ADOPTED BY WASHINGTON.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of the mutiny, and finding that it would not be safe for him to go personally to the scene, Washington sent orders to General Wayne to follow the men and endeavor to open friendly communication with them, but not to attempt any coercion. He was not even to attempt to surround them, or to intercept their march. If they found that they were in danger of being overpowered and captured, there would be great fear of their deserting in a body to the British. At any rate, they could not by any such course be ever made good soldiers again for the American cause.

The river Delaware, which forms the boundary between New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and which the mutineers would have to cross as soon as they reached the frontier of the State, would have

afforded General Wayne a great facility in intercepting and capturing the mutineers if that had been the true policy to be pursued. But Washington's orders were that he should not attempt to prevent their crossing the river, but rather to facilitate their doing so, in order to remove them as far as possible from any aid that the British general might send to them. Washington at the same time sent communications to all the neighboring States—through whose remissness in carrying into effect the measures ordained by Congress this emergency had arisen—informing them of what had occurred and of the imminence of the danger which threatened and urging the legislative and executive authorities to comply with the requisitions of Congress without any further delay.

THE MUTINEERS COME TO A STAND AT PRINCETON.

The mutineers, however, did not seem disposed to hasten their march. On the contrary, after having proceeded to Princeton, a distance of about fifty miles from Morristown, and still fifteen or twenty from the river, they came to a halt and encamped. Here negotiations were commenced, and after considerable delay and much discussion terms were agreed upon by which the difficulty was settled.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCES.

When General Wayne overtook the mutineers at Princeton he found them regularly encamped, everything being arranged in order, and the men under the usual discipline. He himself and two of the officers accompanying him were admitted to the camp. The rest who came with him were excluded. General Wayne immediately opened a conference with the leaders in respect to their complaints and grievances, and to the means that he had at his command for remedying them.

DELEGATION FROM CONGRESS.

He was soon joined in these conferences by a delegation from Congress. For the Congress—then in session at Philadelphia—when the news was brought to them of the mutiny, had been greatly alarmed in view of the consequences that might ensue; and had immediately appointed a delegation to proceed at once to New Jersey, with a view of meeting the men on the way and holding a conference with them.

The committee of Congress, accompanied by President Reed, the chief executive of the State of Pennsylvania, and several other officers, and escorted, moreover, by a troop of horse, set off a-

once, and traveled with all dispatch toward the scene of danger.

THE EMISSARIES FROM THE BRITISH ARMY.

In the mean time the emissaries which had been sent from the British general in New York, arrived at the camp, with their offers of food, clothing, protection and money to the men if they would come over to their side. The sergeants in command of the mutineers, immediately seized these men and delivered them up, as spies, to General Wayne. They said that they, the mutineers, were not traitors, or deserters, and had no idea of abandoning the cause of their country, still less of going over to the enemy. They were not "Arnolds," they said, —for the treason of Arnold had occurred not long before this time, and his name had already become a by-word of reproach—but true men, ready still at any time to be led against the enemy. All that they were contending for was that while they were themselves faithful to their duty, they should not be subject to intolerable injustice and oppression from the government and the country.

The conduct of the men in seizing and delivering up the British agents tended very strongly to quiet the apprehensions and anxieties which the authorities had felt, and greatly facilitated the negotiations.

PRESIDENT REED AND THE DELEGATION.

It was necessary for President Reed and the congressional delegation to meet the men at a formal conference, in affecting the final settlement, and they were for a time quite uncertain about the expediency and safety of trusting themselves in their hands. A mutiny, whatever may be the apparent formality of its organization, is regarded by all regularly constituted authorities as a lawless mob, and no one could tell what excitements might suddenly break out among these men when they found prominent persons from among those against whom they had been so exasperated, in their hands, and at their mercy. In fact the delegation considered General Wayne and his two officers, though treated with apparent kindness and consideration, as really prisoners, and no one knew what would be their ultimate fate.

President Reed, however, though with many misgivings, decided to take the risk of putting himself in their power. He had but one life to lose, he said, and his country had the first claim to it.

President Reed took the most prominent part in the transaction, not only because he was the highest civil officer present at the time, but also because the troops in mutiny were chiefly those of the Pennsylvania line.

THE CONFERENCE.

At length, on a day appointed, President Reed with his suite of attendants, advanced to the camp of the mutineers, which was near the college at Princeton. They found guards posted at the entrances, and all the other observances of a regular military encampment in full force. The men were paraded in line, ready to receive their visitors with military honors. They were even prepared to fire a salute of artillery, having brought with them six pieces of cannon, but President Reed requested that this should not be done, for fear that the reports of the guns might create an alarm in the surrounding country.

It is not necessary here to detail all the particulars of the conference, but only to say that an agreement was made by which the demands of the men, which were after all only reasonable and just, were to be substantially complied with,—that is, those who had enlisted for three years or the war, and who had reached the end of three years of service, were to be discharged, and proper arrangements were to be made in respect to the clothing and pay of the rest. The force was soon after marched forward to Trenton, where the promised arrangements were carried into effect, and the men returned to their duty.

THE BRITISH AGENTS.

The men who had been sent by the British general in New York to attempt to buy over the mutineers, were by the laws of war, spies. They were tried by a court-martial and hung at the cross-roads near Trenton. In a moral point of view they had done nothing wrong, having only obeyed the command of their superior officer in coming within the enemy's lines, at the hazard of their lives, in hope of gaining a great advantage for the cause in which they were contending. But war does not look upon things at all from any moral point of view, but obeys the behests of military necessity alone; and military necessity requires that secret emissaries from the enemy, taken within any military camp, must die.

REWARDS OFFERED FOR THE APPREHENSION OF THE SPIES.

The mutineers, as has already been said, during their march and at their encampment at Princeton, were under the command of their sergeants, a grade of subordinate and non-commissioned officers, chosen from the men, and usually considered as specially sympathizing with them—not belonging themselves to the class of gentlemen officers. The spies, when they came and made themselves and their errand known, were arrested and delivered to

General Wayne by two of these sergeants. After the difficulty was all settled, the authorities offered the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars each to these men, as a reward for their fidelity.

The men declined to receive the reward, saying that the act of arresting the men was not specially theirs. In making the arrest they only obeyed the orders of the whole board of sergeants, who directed everything. The amount of the reward then, five hundred dollars, was offered to the sergeants, collectively, in order that it might be divided among them.

They replied that in sending the spies to General Wayne they had not acted through any expectation of reward, but only from a sense of duty to the cause. They therefore, they added, did not consider themselves as entitled to any other recompense than the love of their country, and had jointly agreed not to accept of any other.

JUST ESTIMATION OF THE CONDUCT OF THE MUTINEERS.

If common soldiers, or those who are in a social position to sympathize with them, were the writers of history, the action of the men in this mutiny would not only have been defended as justifiable and proper, but the whole transaction, considered in connection with all the circumstances that at-

tended it, would have been conspicuously exhibited as one of the incidents of the war which show some of the noblest qualities of the American character, in a very striking point of view, and one consequently of which Americans have great reason to be proud.

But histories are written in general by those who are most in sympathy with the regularly constituted authorities, and such authorities can never admit that a mutiny is, under any circumstances whatever, other than a crime. Considering, however, the noble manner in which these men acted, and the calmness, prudence and moderation that they evinced in the measures which they adopted, none of those who have narrated the facts have had the heart to condemn the actors, and as they could not commend them, they have usually passed over the subject very briefly, using few words, and making fewer comments.

GENERAL DISCONTENT OF THE ARMY TOWARD THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

There were various other occasions on which the dissatisfaction of the soldiers produced serious difficulty during the course of the war, and the discontent and dissatisfaction which they felt became deeper and more general as the contest drew toward

a close. For many months before peace was actually concluded, it was evident to all that the end of the war was drawing near. While therefore the troops were still kept together in the various camps, it was pretty certain that their active services would not be any longer needed, and this general conviction,—though it ought not to have produced any such effect—did, in fact, greatly diminish the degree of urgency felt by the states, in regard to their obligation to comply with the requisitions of Congress for raising money to provide for immediate wants of the men, and for the arrearages of their pay.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S REMONSTRANCES.

General Washington often remonstrated against the injustice and the danger of this neglect. He wrote to Congress, to the governors of the states, and to leading men in all parts of the country, urging upon them the duty of providing the means of satisfying the just claims of the men before the time should arrive for disbanding them. Not only would it be ungenerous and unjust for the country to neglect this duty, but it would be highly dangerous to do so. He trembled, he said, for the consequences of sending forth so large a body of men, to be scattered through the community, all utterly destitute,—half clothed, and without any

means of reaching their homes except through the charity of the people on the way, and all in a state of great irritation and resentment against the government of their country, on account of the neglect and injustice with which they had been treated. If now, after exacting service from them for years, under circumstances of extreme exposure and suffering, in which they had undergone "all that human nature is capable of enduring this side of death," the government were to dismiss them without even making provision for the arrears of the slender wages which they had bound themselves to pay them, but leaving them far from their friends and homes, and without any means whatever of earning a livelihood, he thought that scenes of disorder and violence might ensue by which the peace of the country would be greatly disturbed.

SOME SMALL EXCUSE FOR THE INJUSTICE.

It should somewhat diminish the pride and self-glorification with which the nation looks back at the present day to the grand and heroic action of their forefathers in the days of the revolution, that such a state of things as this could be allowed to exist. There is, however, some small excuse for the injustice of the country toward the men to whose services they owed so much, in the great difficul-

ties of the situation, and the extreme imperfection and inefficiency of the governmental machinery by which the remedy was to be applied. The general government, it must be remembered, was then a confederation only, and Congress was only a species of commission with no power to act, except so far as the states should from time to time furnish them with the means. Congress could indeed determine what was to be done, but had no power to do it. It could not lay or collect taxes, nor in any other way carry into effect any of its decisions, except those relating to the actual operations of the armies in the field. In the case of money and supplies, they could only decide how much was required, and then apportion the amount among the several states, leaving the different legislatures to pass the necessary laws for raising their respective shares, and then to commission their local executives to carry these laws into effect.

The specific measures for carrying the requisitions of Congress into execution being thus referred to thirteen different legislatures, each of which was composed of men representing a great variety of conflicting interests, of course encountered innumerable difficulties and delays. Long debates were held in the several states, on the best mode of raising the tax, and on the proportions in which it

should fall upon this or that article, or upon this or that class of the population. Whatever shape the law seemed about to assume, there were always many who wished to effect a change in it before it was passed, and they of course resorted to every means of protracting the debate, and procuring postponements and delays,—their policy being aided, of course, by those who did not wish the money to be raised at all.

There were always some of this latter class. They did not openly avow any desire absolutely to refuse to pay the soldiers their due, but they wished the payment to be made in some other way than the one proposed. They, perhaps, charged the responsibility for the difficulty upon Congress. Congress had not managed affairs wisely. If they had done this thing, or had not done that, the emergency would not have occurred. Or the Congress ought to contrive some way of borrowing the money from capitalists, or by means of a loan negotiated abroad, so as to give the country time to recover a little from the effects of the war before heavy burdens of taxation were laid upon the people.

Thus there were endless excuses and causes of embarrassment and delay, which, operating upon such a number of different legislatures, put everything like combined and efficient action out of

the question, and the poor soldiers were left to suffer.

THE PROPER REMEDY.

The obvious remedy was to reorganize the system in such a way as to confer upon the general government executive powers sufficient to enable it to carry into effect its ordinances and measures itself, by its own officers and agents, on a uniform system for the whole country, leaving the States to manage their own local affairs alone,—that is to say, to change the confederation into a *union* so far as all national affairs were concerned, leaving it a confederation as before in respect to local affairs. This remedy was afterward applied, but the time for it had not yet come.

SPECIAL EXERTIONS MADE BY WASHINGTON TO AVERT THE DANGER.

Washington, in the meantime, did everything in his power to avert the threatening danger. He sent urgent representations to Congress and to the governors of the several States to induce them to press forward the adoption of the necessary measures without delay. His recommendations, and especially the statements of facts with which he enforced them, produced their effect, and something was done by means of which Washington could satisfy some of

the more pressing wants of the men, and could also in some degree come to a settlement of their claims for arrearages, and give them pledges in respect to arrangements which were to be made for the future payment of them.

FURLOUGHS.

He also undertook cautiously to commence the process of dispersing the troops, by granting furloughs to all who desired it, and allowing them to go to their homes. Peace had not yet been made absolutely sure, and therefore it was not safe altogether to dismiss any considerable number of the men. But Washington deemed it safe to allow a portion of them to withdraw from the camps, subject to the power of the government to recall them if occasion should require. By this means the danger which might have attended the sudden disbanding of a large number of destitute and discontented men was greatly diminished.

THREATENED CONSPIRACY AMONG THE TROOPS.

The discontent and irritation of the soldiers seemed to arrive at its height in the spring. At this time hostilities had in a great measure ceased, and the main body of the army was encamped on the banks of the Hudson, a short distance above

New York, while the British held the city, which, however, they were preparing to evacute. Washington had his head-quarters at Newburgh, fifty or sixty miles above the city.

The officers and soldiers of the army during the preceding winter had had little else to do than to reflect upon their position, and brood over the gloomy prospects that were before them, if they were to be discharged and sent to their homes in the destitute condition in which they found themselves likely to be placed. The officers in particular began to feel extremely uneasy. Many of them had been in service during the whole period of the war. Those whose health had not been seriously impaired by the diseases of the camp had become prematurely old and infirm through exposure and suffering. They had expended not only the little pay which they had received, but also their own private means, and they had become disqualified for earning a livelihood by any of the ordinary occupations of civil life. After having spent the flower of their days in toil and suffering to protect the rights of millions of people against a very determined foe, and to lay the foundation of a great and independent government, and having fully succeeded in their work, they saw nothing before them for the remainder of their days but to live the

life of wretched outcasts, in poverty and shame, and dependent on charity even for their daily bread—while the great people whom they had been the instruments of redeeming went on triumphantly in the career of prosperity and wealth which was opening before them.

ANONYMOUS ADDRESSES CIRCULATED IN CAMP.

While things were in this state a great excitement was produced by several anonymous addresses which were circulated among the officers in Washington's camp, calling upon them to form a combination for the assertion of their rights, and for forcing the government, if necessary, to do them justice. The addresses represented in very earnest and vigorous language the terribly humiliating and destitute condition to which the officers and soldiers would be reduced, if they allowed themselves to be disarmed and disbanded before proper provision was made by the government for fulfilling its obligations to them; and it called upon them not to submit to this wrong. The course which these communications proposed as the proper one to be pursued was first to address the government in the most firm and decided manner, demanding their rights, and then if their demand should not be complied with, to refuse to give up their arms, but to put their beloved chief, meaning

Washington, at their head, and take the means of redress into their own hands.

Many cases have occurred in history where the leaders of a great army, the foremost among them at the head, have at the close of a long war, retained their arms and organization, overturned the civil government and established a military one in its stead. Julius Cæsar and the first Napoleon are two conspicuous examples of this mode of instating a military leader in supreme and irresponsible power, and Washington might have at least attempted to make himself a third, if he had been so disposed.

CONDUCT OF WASHINGTON IN THE EMERGENCY.

He was, however, not so disposed. Instead of taking advantage of the occasion to make himself an emperor, he devoted all his powers and all his influence, both with the army on one side, and with Congress, the different state legislatures, and the country on the other, to heal the breach. He came before the officers in a meeting which they held to take these proposals into consideration, and there made an address to them, expressing principles so exalted and noble, combined with sentiments of the strongest personal attachment to them, as the beloved comrades who had been joined with him in

so long and arduous a work, and had endured with him so many sufferings,—while at the same time he evinced a just sense of the wrongs which they had endured, and explained the measures which he was adopting to secure redress for them by proper and legitimate modes, that the angry feelings of the men assembled were greatly soothed, and the danger of an open insurrection of the army against the government was averted.

He also wrote new and more earnest letters to Congress, and to the governors of the states, representing the danger of the crisis, and the justice of the demands made by the army, in such a light that new efforts were made, and before long the claims of the men were substantially satisfied, and the way was prepared for the peaceable dispersion of the troops when the time at length arrived.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO THE ARMY.

The occasion, however, of Washington's farewell to his troops preparatory to their final separation, was a very sad and sorrowful one, for besides the pain of parting from one whom the men had always looked up to as a father, their prospects for the future, notwithstanding all that had been done for them by Congress, including the engagements yet to be fulfilled, were very dark and gloomy. They

bade each other and their beloved general farewell in much sorrow and with many anxious forebodings, and went forth into the wide world where many of them had no friends and no home,—and no visible means of future subsistence—with hearts full of despondency and gloom.

WASHINGTON'S PARTING WITH HIS OFFICERS.

The final parting of Washington from his principal officers, was, if possible, still more affecting. The interview took place in New York a few days after the British troops had evacuated the city, and the American authorities had been put in possession. Washington remained in town two or three days, for the purpose of bringing his military duties to a close, and also of joining in certain festivities proposed by some of the principal inhabitants.

When the appointed day arrived, a barge, elegantly fitted up, was prepared to convey him across the Hudson River to the Jersey shore, that he might proceed to Philadelphia, with a view of settling his accounts with the department of war there, and then formally resigning his commission. The barge was stationed at Whitehall, near the battery, and a military escort was provided to attend him through the street.

The officers met to take their leave of him at the

hotel where he lodged. When they were all assembled he was introduced into the room. He went to a side-board, poured out a glass of wine, and as he raised it to his lips in presence of them all,—though so much moved that it was difficult for him to utter the words,—he said to them, that the time for their parting had come, and that it was with a heart full of love and gratitude that he took leave of them;—adding the wish that their futnre days might be as prosperous and happy as their previous ones had been honorable and glorious.

Then, bowing, he touched the glass to his lips, in token of drinking to the health and happiness of his friends.

He then said that he could not conveniently come to take them severally by the hand, the room being very full; but he wished that each one of them would come to him. This they did; and the parting salutation was given in this way, accompanied by inarticulate expressions of good will, and many tears.

Washington then immediately left the hotel, and, followed by a long procession, he walked in silence to Whitehall, where the barge was awaiting him. It was then about two o'clock. As the barge left the pier Washington turned toward the people that crowded in throngs upon the shore, and taking off his hat waved to them his farewell.

SETTLEMENT OF THE ACCOUNTS.

Washington proceeded on his journey across the State of New Jersey. The people thronged the towns and villages through which he passed, and received him everywhere with joyful acclamations. He arrived at length at Philadelphia, and remained there for a few days to present and settle his accounts in the proper offices. These accounts included only charges for actual expenses incurred by him during the war. Except this reimbursement for actual outlay, he would accept no remuneration for the services that he had rendered.

FINAL RESIGNATION.

Having closed this business, he proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress was then in session, in order to render back his commission into the hands of those who had conferred it, thus formally resigning his command and divesting himself entirely of all power. He had intended to have sent in the commission, accompanied by a written communication, instead of surrendering it in person; but Congress desired that the ceremony should be performed in a more formal and solemn manner. They were probably aware that this act of quietly resigning his power into the hands of the civil authorities that had conferred it, when the object for which it

had been conferred had been accomplished, was one which would be recognized by mankind as the crowning glory of the hero's life, and one which would forever distinguish him in the estimation of the world from all previous conquerors and founders of empires, of whatever country or age.

THE CEREMONY.

At the appointed time, which was at twelve o'clock on the 20th of December, 1783, the hall of Congress was filled, the members occupying their seats in the centre, while all the other available space on the floor and in the galleries was crowded with ladies, public officers, and other such persons of distinction as had been able to obtain admission. Washington was then introduced, and conducted to a chair which had been placed for him in a central position. As soon as silence was restored he rose with his commission in his hand, and made a brief address to the president.

"The great events," he said, "on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor to offer my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust com mitted to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country."

Then, after speaking a few words in strong commendation of the officers and soldiers that had served under his command, and earnestly commending them to the favor of Congress and to the gratitude of the country, he concluded by saying:

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"And having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

As he said these words he delivered his commission into the hands of the president, who, on receiving it, made a brief but very touching address to Washington in reply.

Those who witnessed the scene recorded the fact that the whole audience were entirely overcome by the emotions which it awakened in their minds.

RETURN TO MOUNT VERNON.

On the following day, the twenty-first, Washington set out on his return to his home in Virginia

The journey occupied several days on account of the great desire of the people to see him on the way, and the many interruptions to his progress occasioned by the requests made to him, at the different towns which he passed through, that he would stop to receive addresses from the authorities, and to take part in ceremonies of welcome and congratulation. He arrived at Mount Vernon on Christmas Eve, just in time to join in the grand festivities by which that occasion is always marked on every southern plantation, and which were redoubled in this case by the excessive delight experienced by all on the estate in seeing again their long absent chieftain, and welcoming him once more to his home.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONFEDERATION.

THREE SUCCESSIVE FORMS OF COMBINATION ADOPTED BY THE STATES.

THE states now constituting the American republic have combined for united action under three distinct organic forms, in three successive periods, namely, that of the Continental Congress, of the Confederation, and of the Union. The Continental Congress continued in power for six years, namely, from 1775 to 1781,—the Confederation for eight years, namely from 1781 to 1789,—and the Union for more than half a century, up to the present time; and there is now every indication that with such modifications as it may make upon itself from time to time, by its own internal action, it will endure as long as any existing human institutions.

ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE IN THE NATURE OF THESE SYSTEMS.

The Continental Congress was essentially only an advisory body. It consisted of delegates appointed in various ways by the several colonies, to

consult and advise, but with no formal power to act, except in the conduct of military operations. The Congress assumed to speak in the name of all the colonies, and to recommend to them severally what it was best to do; but it had no authority really to decide any question, still less any power to carry such decisions into effect. Under the Confederation on the other hand,—which was the second form of combination,—the general government was clothed with certain powers to decide finally the questions coming before them, and to pass enactments binding on the states, but they had no power to carry their measures into effect. This was to be left to the states themselves. The Congress decided what money should be raised, and what number of men furnished, but then the actual raising of the men, and the collecting of the money was to be left to the state authorities alone, according to the quotas which Congress should assign to them respectively. In other words the states reserved to themselves all real power, but, in relation to national subjects, they bound themselves by a solemn compact to exercise their power in accordance with the decrees of the delegates representing them, in Congress assembled.

Under this system, though there could be unity of plan, and in theory a certain unity of authority, there could be no real unity of action.

The country, however, succeeded in struggling through the period of the war under this system, though the difficulties and embarrassments encountered in the working of it were at times nearly fatal to the cause.

NATURE OF A CONFEDERATION.

This system was, as its name imports, a confederation, that is a leaguing together of separate and independent governments, none of them surrendering any of their powers, but only agreeing to exercise their powers in respect to certain specified subjects, as should be determined upon by mutual agreement.

THE UNION.

The third plan was a Union,—that is a giving up by the states a portion of their governmental power, in order that the people of the country might mingle and blend themselves into one great community, in respect to all common and national purposes, while for all local purposes the states remained independent and sovereign as before.

Thus, under the first system the organ of the combination,—the Congress,—could speak and recommend, but could not decide or act. Under the second it could decide, but could only act through

the agency of the state governments. Under the third it could not only decide, but was provided with all the requisite machinery and power for carrying its decisions and its measures into effect, within its own proper sphere, without consulting or calling upon the state governments at all.

DURATION OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Although when the serious work of the war came on, the Continental Congress system was found to be wholly inefficient for the accomplishment of the purposes required, it was undoubtedly at the time of its adoption the wisest, and in fact the only mode of coöperation that was possible. It continued to fulfill its functions, as has already been said, until the year 1781, that is for a space of six years, and did not cease to exist until it had itself produced its successor, the Confederation, as that in its turn produced the Union, the last, and perfect form, which we hope will be perpetual.

FIRST MOVEMENT IN FAVOR OF A CONFEDERATION.

The total inadequacy of the powers of the Continental Congress for the exigencies of the situation was perceived at once, and measures were commenced almost immediately to establish some system

that should be more worthy of the name of a government. In 1776, soon after the declaration of independence was made, a committee was appointed to draw up articles of confederation. In about a month the committee reported a plan.

DEBATES ON THE SUBJECT IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

The subject was, however, so vast, so numberless were the forms which such a league might assume, so various were the conceptions and desires of the different members, arising partly from fundamental differences in their ideas of the nature of government, and partly from the diverse, and in some cases conflicting, interests of the different sections of country, that months passed away in discussing the various plans and projects brought forward in place of the one proposed by the committee, and in offering and debating innumerable amendments.

Of course it was but a small portion of the time occupied by its sessions that Congress could devote to this business, their attention being mainly engrossed by the immediate and pressing demands made upon them by the emergencies of the war. For during all this time, while they were engaged in the endeavor to construct some foundation of authority for their action, in a covenant among the States, they were obliged to act as it were without

authority in carrying forward the work of the revolution.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION ADOPTED AND PROPOSED TO THE STATES.

It was not until November, 1777—more than a year after the subject was first brought forward in Congress—that a plan of confederation was finally agreed upon, to be proposed to the States. Of course, it was necessary that it should be unanimously agreed to by them before it could be binding; or, at least, it could only bind those who should thus assent to it. For this was an *original* compact, and no one State could be rightfully compelled by the others to come into it against its will.

A confederation or constitution once made and formally agreed to, which contains *within itself* a provision for making alterations and amendments by a specified majority, may of course afterward be so amended by that majority; and the minority, having previously agreed to the compact, the provision for amendments included, will be bound by the decision. But the original compact, binding States previously entirely distinct and independent, can of course bind only those who voluntarily adopt it.

PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSED CONFEDERATION.

The essential feature of the Confederation was that the States bound themselves by a solemn league with each other that they, the States, would maintain and carry into effect whatever decisions the Congress, acting equally for all, should decide upon, in relation to certain business of common interest—principally questions of peace and war, and those of commercial intercourse with foreign nations.

Under the Union, subsequently created, the general government was clothed with power to maintain and carry into effect its measures *itself*, without calling upon the State governments at all, and this constituted the essential difference between the two systems.

Thus under the Confederation, Congress was to decide, when any question should arise with any foreign nation, whether war should be made, and, if made, they were to notify to each State what its proportion was of the men and money required for the proper conduct of the military operations, and the States, on receiving this notification, were bound to raise their respective quotas. It was the same with all the other undertakings which Congress might ordain. And as a government can do nothing at all without men and money, wherever the control

over these supplies is placed there lies the real power. Under the Confederation this power was left wholly in the hands of States.

The States positively bound themselves, it is true, by their agreement to furnish the supplies when Congress called upon them to do it; but, in case of their refusal or neglect to respond, there were no means of compelling them to do so.

MAJORITY REQUIRED.

Nor were they bound to furnish the means of carrying into effect any measure resolved upon by Congress unless there was a majority of *nine* States in favor of it. The number of States being thirteen, a simple majority would have been seven. But a majority of nine to four was required before any State could be called upon to act. This provision was intended to render it certain that the case was clear and decided before Congress could engage in any enterprise involving the country in expense, or committing it to any new course of foreign policy.

THE STATES EQUAL UNDER THE CONFEDERATION.

Each State being regarded as entirely sovereign and independent, and the national council being simply a league formed among them, no distinction was to be made among them, in respect to their voice

in the council, on account of differences of wealth, of territory, or of population. Any of them might, if it chose, send several delegates—any number from three to seven; but in taking votes each State was to be counted as one.

And yet in raising men and money the different States were required to furnish their respective quotas in proportion to the value of the real estate comprised within its limits.

This plan of giving all the States, large and small, the same power in determining upon the measures to be adopted, while the large ones were to furnish far the greater portion of the means required for carrying the measures into effect, was very seriously objected to by the larger States, who thought that their voice in the decision ought to bear some proportion to the share of the burden which the decision imposed. But the smaller States thought that it would be entirely inconsistent with their dignity as sovereign and independent powers to join a league under any other terms than absolute equality in the council with the rest, both in consideration and in power.

This question was not easily settled. It led to much dissension and debate among the States when the articles were presented to them for ratification, and it caused a long delay on the part of many of

them before they would yield their final assent to the plan.

NO EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

There was, strictly speaking, no executive department under this system, inasmuch as all the actual authority of government over individual citizens, was reserved by the States in their own hands. The general government had no immediate access at all to the individual citizen. It had only to direct the employment of such supplies of men and money as the States should furnish it. There was, of course, no chief magistrate to be elected, no cabinet of ministers, or other machinery of a central government. Provision was made for the appointment of a committee to act in the place of Congress, during the intervals of the sessions, but so jealous were the people at that time of the rights of the individual States, that it was provided by the articles that this committee should consist of one member from each State, so that even in the committee all the members of the league should stand upon an equal footing.

COMMON CITIZENSHIP.

The foregoing were the great essential principles of the Confederation. There were a number of subordinate provisions, tending to produce harmony

and good will among the people of the States, and to facilitate social and commercial intercourse among them. The people of each State were to have free access and egress to and from any other one, and no distinctions of any kind were to be made, by the laws or ordinances of any State, between its own citizens and those of the other members of the Confederacy.

And if any person guilty of crime were to escape from one State to another, he was not to be harbored and protected, but to be arrested and given up, to be tried in the State where the crime was alleged to have been committed.

RESTRICTIONS ON SEPARATE STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

By the proposed articles the several States bound themselves not to make war individually on any foreign power, nor even to hold any diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations, but in all cases to act on such questions in concurrence with the other States through Congress. They also agreed not to make any partial leagues or agreements with other nations, of any kind whatever. And no State was to own any vessels of war, or to organize and retain any armed force, except so far as authorized so to do by the action of Congress.

PROVISION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF QUESTIONS OF CONTROVERSY ARISING BETWEEN ONE STATE AND ANOTHER.

To prevent all possibility of any interruption to the internal interests of the country by hostilities between one State and another, systematic provision was made for the settlement of any question which might arise among them, by boards of referees, or temporary tribunals, appointed under the general direction of Congress, by the parties themselves if they could agree, and if not by a system of selection, by the disputants, or by lot, or by the two methods combined. No permanent judicial tribunal was included in the plan.

Thus it will be seen by a general survey of the system that it was substantially a plan for dividing the governmental power of the country into two great branches, all power of communication with the external world and all action in reference to it, being committed to the sole management and direction of the general government, the several States agreeing, each in its own way and in its own proportion, to carry into effect such decisions as the general government should make; while authority of every kind over individual citizens and local interests, and all the internal machinery of government, was retained exclusively in the hands of the States themselves.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION ADOPTED BY CONGRESS AND TRANSMITTED TO THE STATES.

It was not until the fall of 1777, that the articles were finally adopted by Congress, and ordered to be transmitted to the several States for their ratification. The States were very slow in giving their sanction to the plan. And of course, as it was extremely desirable that all the States should be included in any arrangement that should be made, and as no one could be included in it except by its own express consent, it became almost absolutely necessary to wait for an unanimous ratification before the system could go into effect. More than four years elapsed before this unanimous consent was obtained. The State of Maryland was the last to yield. Her adhesion was given in March, 1781, and on the following day Congress assembled under the Confederation as the organic law of the union.

LITTLE ADVANTAGE GAINED.

No very serious inconvenience, however, resulted from the delay; for, after all, the condition of the government seems not to have been much changed by the adoption of the articles,—the Congress having exercised before, by the tacit acquiescence and consent of the States, pretty nearly the same powers with those conferred now upon it under the

Confederation, by a written instrument in a formal manner. Under the former system Congress could decide upon the measures to be adopted, and carry them into effect so far as the States severally by their voluntary action gave them the means. The Confederate Congress could decide more authoritatively, it is true, and could *require* the States to furnish them the means to carry their measures into effect. But still all depended now as before upon the voluntary action of the States, for they were at liberty to comply or not to comply with the requisitions made upon them, since there was nowhere any provision made for enforcing compliance.

During the remainder of the war, therefore, and for some time after hostilities were concluded, the government of the country moved slowly on, weak and inefficient in its action, holding a nominal authority over the direction of public affairs, but having no power to provide itself with the means of carrying its decisions into effect.

INFLUENCE OF PEACE AND WAR IN RESPECT TO THE OPERATION OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

As soon as the war was over, and the army was disbanded, the machinery of the Confederation seemed to become more weak and its powers more insignificant than ever. It will probably always be

a characteristic of our compound system of government,—a general government chiefly for external, and local ones for internal, affairs,—that the relative importance and prominence of the two branches of power will depend very much upon the condition of the country, whether it be in peace or in war. In time of peace and of quiet industry the State governments will as it were occupy the chief field of duty, while in time of war the general government will at once assume new importance, and often perhaps appear to usurp new powers, whereas it in fact only calls into exercise those that are perfectly legitimate, though previously dormant and held in reserve.

It has been strikingly so in the great rebellion, now in 1865 happily ended. One ostensible ground of the rebellion was to preserve the rights of the States, and diminish the power and prestige of the general government. The effect of the outbreak was at once to develop in the general government, by the natural and normal working of the system, a gigantic power fully adequate to the emergency, and in presence of which the State governments are comparatively silent and inactive. When, however, at length, the rebellion is ended, and an era of peace and quiet industry returns, the general government subsides into its ordinary channels. Its

vast armies are disbanded, its fleets of ships and transports are dispersed, a large portion of its forts are dismantled, and its acts and operations have less power to monopolize and absorb public attention, while the functions of the State governments resume their wonted predominance in the thoughts and daily avocations of the citizens.

TERMINATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The termination of the revolutionary war produced this effect in a remarkable degree upon the old government of the Confederation. It had, in fact, scarcely any life in itself, and was mainly kept in existence by the external pressure of difficulty and danger. As soon as this pressure was removed, all interest in the general government appeared rapidly to subside. The chief thing that then remained for Congress was the duty of providing ways and means for paying debts—always an irksome and disagreeable task. It was still more irksome and disagreeable in this case as the body charged with it had no real power to do the thing required, but only to determine in what proportions the several States should do it.

It was a long time before even a quorum to transact business could be secured. It was provided by the articles that nine States must be

represented in order to constitute a quorum. Now, each State was to pay the salary of its own delegates. They naturally wished to save this expense. So they allowed small obstructions to prevent or delay the appointment of delegates. The duties to be performed, too, were irksome, and were attended with responsibility without power. This caused it to be very little an object of desire on the part of statesmen to be chosen. The consequence was that for some time no business could be done, because no Congress could be assembled.

RESIGNATION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

The Secretary of the Treasury, after struggling for a year or more against the insurmountable difficulties of his work, resigned his position, and no competent man could be found to take his place. Congress was obliged to appoint a committee to take charge of the financial affairs of the government. There was, however, very little that such a committee could do. Debts were pressing, and even interest money was falling fast in arrear; but the supply of funds coming in was extremely small, and there seemed to be no conceivable means of increasing it. In a word, the financial condition of the government was fast becoming desperate.

THE ARMY.

Even the physical force at the command of the general government rapidly dwindled away till it reached almost the vanishing point. There were only about seven hundred men reserved in the service when the army was disbanded, and this number had gradually diminished, until at length only about fifty men in one place and twenty-five in another, were left to guard certain magazines. And this was the military establishment of what had been organized as a mighty nation.

A STATE OF COMPLETELY SUSPENDED ANIMATION REACHED AT LAST.

Whatever of vital power had been imparted to the system at first went on in this manner, wasting gradually away, until at length at one time, all life seemed to be extinct, and the government, so far as any visible or tangible embodiment of its authority was concerned, entirely ceased to exist. It will be remembered that provision had been made for the appointment of a committee of one from each State to act as a kind of executive board during the adjournment of Congress. Such a committee was appointed. But in attempting to transact the business committed to them, they soon came to a hopeless state of disagreement, and the two parties

into which they were divided were so nearly equal that all action was paralyzed. The members of the committee finally separated and went to their homes, leaving the government without any representation whatever.

SUBJECTS DEMANDING ATTENTION FROM THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT DURING THESE TIMES.

And, though the interests depending upon the action of the general governnent were much less important now than during the continuance of the war, there were very important interests at stake, which required some efficient agency to attend to them. There were negotiations to be carried on with foreign powers, not only with a view to arranging treaties of commerce, which now became quite necessary, but also to determine certain questions relating to boundaries and other subjects that were not yet settled, and which threatened to lead to serious consequences if not soon arranged. There were questions at issue with Spain, in respect to the navigation of the Mississippi, which passed near its mouth through what was then Spanish territory. The English, too, were very slow in giving up possession of some of the western forts, claiming that some of the obligations on our part, created by the treaty made with her, had not been fulfilled. There

were difficulties moreover, in respect to certain Indian tribes, and a system of policy to be framed and determined upon as the future policy of the country in dealing with them. There were also a great many perplexing questions in regard to the disposal of vast tracts of public land, which had belonged to the several States, but which it was now proposed should be ceded to the general government, to be held under their jurisdiction as territories, with a view to their ultimate settlement and formation into States to be joined to the Confederation.

GENERAL CONVICTION OF THE NECESSITY THAT A STRONGER GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

These questions, though all important, were not of such immediate and pressing urgency as to force the country to supply, by an outside pressure upon the Confederate government, the necessary stimulus to bring its feeble and waning vitality into action. Indeed, the conviction was gradually extending that some very different system of national combination than that then existing, under which the general government had no power to supply itself with the means of acting—but was wholly dependent on the concurrent action of thirteen different and independent sovereignties to supply them, was indispensably required. This feeling

gradually extended itself through the community for several years, and different statesmen of eminence were turning their thoughts toward the nature of the change which it would be necessary soon to make, when certain events occurred which greatly tended to hasten this determination. These events were riots and disturbances which broke out in different parts of the country, and which the state authorities found themselves incompetent to manage. The most serious of these disturbances took place in the heart of Massachusetts, and is known in history as Shay's insurrection.

SHAY'S INSURRECTION.

The causes of all these disturbances were substantially the same. They arose from the general exhaustion of the country after the long war, the poverty of the mass of the people, the pressure of debt, the scarcity of money, and the harassing operation of the legal processes by which the payment of debts was enforced. All this time there were many persons in the great cities, living in wealth and luxury, some of whom had made their fortunes in some way or other out of the war, and others by the lucky commercial ventures for which such stormy times always afforded many occasions to shrewd business men living in the great commer-

cial centres. The officers of the State government, too, received handsome salaries, which the people in their destitution were taxed very heavily to pay. The professional men also charged high fees, and both these classes and the wealthy people generally, especially in the large towns, affected in their mode of living a good deal of the aristocratic state and display which English usages had long since introduced into the country.

It is not surprising that under these circumstances many of the people considered themselves aggrieved. They attributed their distress to the action of the government, and especially to the harshness of the measures for collecting debts There were a great number of men in the interior of Massachusetts who were under this excitement, and a certain Captain Daniel Shays, who had been an officer in the revolutionary army, and had there acquired some military experience and skill, put himself at the head of them. He called them together at Worcester, and organized them into quite a regular army, which embodied at one time a force of about a thousand men. The immediate objects of the insurgents, so far as they appeared to have formed any definite designs, were to prevent the session of the courts in Worcester and Springfield, and also—with a view to ulterior operations—to get

possession of the arms in the arsenal at Springfield.

THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT POWERLESS.

Of course this state of things produced general alarm throughout the country, and the general government was at once looked to as the source from which the required help was to be obtained. Now the general government had power to send troops to the scene of danger, provided it only had troops to send. But it had no troops. It could obtain troops easily if it had money. But it had no money. It could have borrowed money easily if it had the power to lay and collect taxes to pay it. But it had no such power. It could only engage with the capitalists to whom it applied for a loan, that it would *require* the several States to lay such taxes, --each for its own fair proportion of the debt; but this was not likely to be considered by the capitalists who were to furnish the money as very satisfactory security.

It was, however, at length ascertained that some wealthy men in Boston, alarmed probably by the danger to themselves and to their property, threatened by the outbreak, offered to take the risk of furnishing the money to the general government, but before the arrangement could be completed and

an army raised, the insurrection broke out in full force, and the authorities of Massachusetts were left to deal with it alone.

THE INSURRECTION SUBDUED.

The governor of Massachusetts called out the militia, and a force of four thousand men was put under the command of General Lincoln. This force moved at once into the disturbed district, and something like a civil war raged in the interior of Massachusetts for many weeks. All hope of any aid from the general government seems to have been abandoned, and Massachusetts called, instead, upon the neighboring States for their aid. This aid was readily furnished, and by means of great firmness and decision in the adoption of the necessary measures, and great moderation and forbearance in the execution of them, the insurgents were finally captured or dispersed, with few actual conflicts, and comparatively little loss of life.

Many of the leaders were taken, tried and condemned to death, but they were not executed. Indeed so good ground had they for their complaints, and so severe had been the hardships and sufferings that had led them to this desperate mode of redress, that it was estimated that one-third of the people of the State believed that they were justified in taking up arms.

ALL CONFIDENCE IN THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT FINALLY LOST.

One of the most important results of Shay's insurrection was completely to convince the country of the total inadequacy of the system of the government which had been adopted for the purposes in view. If, in the case of a dangerous insurrection breaking out in the heart of the country, the general government proved utterly helpless, so that the State whose peace was broken must be left to her own resources, and to such voluntary aid as she could obtain by calling upon her neighbors in her distress, what possible reliance could be placed upon it in any time to come. It soon appeared that all respect for so frail and feeble a system was gone, and demands began to arise from all parts of the country for the calling of a general convention to devise a more efficient plan of organization.

At length delegates to such a convention were appointed by all the States. The time for the meeting of it was the fourteenth of May, 1787, about three years after the close of the revolutionary war.

During all this time Washington had remained quietly at his home at Mount Vernon, taking comparatively little part in the management of public affairs. He was, however, now appointed by the State of Virginia one of the delegates to the new convention

CHAPTER VIII.

THE UNION.

ORIGIN OF THE CONVENTION.

ALTHOUGH Washington took no prominent part in the management of public affairs immediately after the close of the war, and during the continuance of the confederation, the origin of the actual convention which formed the federal constitution is traced to his agency. While living in retirement at Mount Vernon, his mind was naturally turned to the condition of his native State, and to plans of improvement which might promote her welfare. Among other plans he conceived the idea of improving the navigation of the Potomac, and perhaps connecting that river with the Ohio, by a canal. This plan would require the concurrent action of several States, and he took measures for having delegates appointed from the States interested, to meet at Mount Vernon in order to consider the subject. In discussing the plan proposed the delegates were naturally led to the consideration of other plans

connected with, or in some way bearing upon the project of the canal, and affecting a still greater number of States; and this turned their thoughts to the great necessity there was of a general government of the country that should be invested with some substantial power, by means of which national interests of this kind might be provided for in a regular and proper manner. The discussions arising in this way led to a gradual enlargement of the ideas of those who took part in them, until at length all partial schemes were abandoned, and it was finally determined that application should be made to Congress to call a general convention of all the States, to devise and recommend such changes in the articles of confederation as should give the country an efficient general government.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY.

The difficulties in the way of the accomplishment of any such scheme were enormous, and might well have been considered by those who projected it, as absolutely insurmountable. It is plain that no power could be granted to the general government, except such as should be taken away for this purpose from the several States. Now each of the States considered itself, as it really was, independent and supreme in the management of its affairs, and each

attached great importance to its supremacy. They had been allied together, it is true, in a war against a common foe, but there had been hitherto no other bond to unite them. The Confederate Congress had indeed continued feebly to fulfill its functions since the war was closed, but its duty had been chiefly confined to the adjustment of the accounts connected with the war, that still remained unsettled, and notifying the several States of the amounts which they were respectively called upon to pay, from time to time, in order to bring the business to a close.

Thus what we now call the general government of the country, at that time was not in fact, and was not then regarded, as a government at all,—but only a confederation of governments exercising power through a kind of board of commissioners appointed to manage the affairs of thirteen allied States during the time of war, and continued in office after the war was closed, mainly for the purpose of settling up its affairs. The only real *governments* were the governments of the States.

GREAT IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THE IDEA OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

Now the people were everywhere extremely tenacious of this idea of the sovereignty and inde-

pendence of the States. The idea of a general nationality had not yet been formed in any minds, and such an idea cannot at once be created by conventions and constitutions. The several States had been settled in very different ways; the character of the people inhabiting them was very diverse; their ideas, their conceptions of the nature of government, and all their social usages were extremely various. Then there was none of that universal intercourse and intercommunication which exists at the present day to make the people of different regions acquainted with each other, and to mix and blend their ideas and opinions. There were not only no railroads, but not even stage-coaches as a means of intercourse. Thus, instead of their being, as now between Boston and New York, for example, two or three thousand people sometimes whirled rapidly through in each direction in a single day, the only mode of intercourse was by the long journey of a solitary traveller plodding his weary way for a week or more over rough and muddy roads, on horseback or in his travelling gig. In fact, for all practical purposes, each State was in a condition of almost absolute social isolation from all the rest.

Still the extreme desirableness of some common bond of union, as a means of enabling this large family of small sovereignties to maintain its stand-

ing in the world, and protect its common rights and interests, was indisputably clear, and all were agreed that something must be done. The difficulty would be in determining where and in what way the power of the small sovereignties should be curtailed in order to obtain the materials for constituting the great and general one.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE CONVENTION.

The convention met in Philadelphia, as has already been said, early in May in 1787, and it continued in session all summer. Washington was elected president. At length, about the middle of September, the body concluded its labors, and agreed upon a system to be recommended to the several States for their adoption.

We are accustomed to think much of the wisdom of our ancestors, as displayed in the formation of the federal constitution, and to picture to our minds, in conceiving of the scene presented by the convention during the period of their deliberations, an assembly of calm, venerable and patriotic men, without selfishness, without party spirit or political animosities of any kind, but all intent only on calmly considering in friendly consultation, and harmoniously adopting, what they considered best for the interest of their common country.

But such a conception as this would be extremely visionary and unreal. The four months occupied by the debates of the body were spent in incessant controversy and conflict, nearly every man watching with great jealousy the interests of his own State, and all, or rather almost all, struggling with the greatest earnestness, and sometimes with great heat and passion, to obtain special advantages for their own special constituents. The wisdom and patriotism for which this assembly has been so renowned throughout the world in later times manifested itself in a very still small voice, which found the greatest possible difficulty in making itself heard amid the stormy conflict of selfish interest and passion with which the assembly was filled. It succeeded, however, in the end in gaining the victory, and is all the more worthy of the commendation it has received on account of the tempestuous violence of the commotion through which it led the way to a safe and happy issue at last.

INJUNCTION OF SECRESY.

The proceedings of the convention were held with closed doors, and an injunction of secrecy was laid upon the members, which prohibited them from making known anything that took place. This was to save the country from the excitement and

agitation which might have resulted from the publication of the debates from day to day, and the consequent arousing throughout the land of the same stormy conflict of interest and passion that raged in the convention itself. This injunction was never formally removed, but the proceedings and debates were finally published at different times and in various ways, and the subjects of controversy and causes of disagreement were made known. The principal of them were the following.

JEALOUSY OF STATE RIGHTS AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

One of the chief obstacles to the success of the plan of forming a united government—a difficulty which was not only great in itself but was the source and origin of a great many difficulties flowing from it—was the fact that there prevailed among all the people a great deal of love for their respective States, but very little for their common country. The whole country had scarcely yet begun to be embodied in their conceptions as a unity. It is true the various States had been bound together for many years in the pursuit of a common object, and had been, to a certain extent, united under one organization, namely, the Congress. But the great common object had now long since been accomplished, and the Congress had been considered

by the people as scarcely more than a board of commissioners, acting for many independent States, and not at all as a real and genuine government for a united people.

Thus the love of country and the patriotic feeling cherished by the people had everywhere for its chief object their own particular State, and they were naturally very jealous of its independence, its sovereignty and its rights. They were accordingly, without perhaps being particularly conscious of it, extremely reluctant to diminish the powers and prerogatives of a government which they had always loved as their own, for the benefit of a new and larger one, which, being new, they had of course not yet learned to love.

POLITICAL CONSERVATISM.

They acted under the principle of political conservatism—that is, a strong attachment to things as they are and as they have been, simply because they so are and so have been—one of the most powerful and most beneficent, and at the same time one of the blindest and most unreasonable of all the impulses of the human mind.

The tract of country through which the river Connecticut flows in the upper part of its course has long been divided into two independent States,

Vermont and New Hampshire. The people on each side have grown up from infancy with strong attachments—those on the east to their native New Hampshire, and those on the west to their native Vermont. If now for any good reason of public policy it should become no matter how desirable to unite these two States into one, the people on both sides of the river would be unanimous in resisting the change, and it would require an enormous pressure of necessity, or of interest, to overcome the universal opposition to it which would be awakened.

A little farther south the same river flows through another portion of the same tract of country, the circumstances being in all respects substantially the same, except that here the territory on each side of the stream has from time immemorial formed one State instead of two. If now it should for any reason become desirable to separate these two portions and make two States,—one on each side of the river —the resistance and opposition to the change would be just as invincible as in the other case. There is no reason whatever why the territory on the north should be divided by the river into two States, and on the South should form but one, except that it is so, and for several generations back it has been so, —which is in fact no good reason at all; but it would very likely be actually easier to overrun and

subdue by military force the whole country, than to make the river a boundary toward the South, or to abolish it as a boundary on the North The people in one quarter would contend to the last extremity to prevent, what, under precisely similar circumstances, in respect to all the material aspects of the case, those in the other would contend with equal vehemence and persistency to retain.

This principle, though blind, and often extremely unreasonable in individual cases, is still, within proper limits, beneficent in its general operation. It often retards desirable and even necessary changes —but then perhaps it more frequently prevents useless or dangerous ones, and at any rate it gives a certain steadiness to the advance of civilization and improvement, which has a vast influence on the welfare of the human family.

Now it was the attachment of the people of the country to their respective States, and their unwillingness to curtail State prestige and power for the purpose of creating a new government in respect to which all feelings of love, respect and veneration were yet to be formed, which constituted the great difficulty in the way of organizing the proposed union.

THE QUESTION OF ARISTOCRACY AND DEMOCRACY.

Besides this reluctance to furnish the elements of a central power by concessions from the States, there were great differences of opinion among the statesmen assembled in respect to the propor principles on which government in general ought to rest. The most fundamental of these differences related to the question between the democratic and the aristocratic systems,—that is, whether the system should be so arranged that the basis of power should rest equally upon the whole mass of the community, or should be put in the hands of the better portions of it,—the term democracy importing a government by the whole people, and aristocracy by the better classes,—meaning by those the more intelligent and wealthy classes. At the present day it is the almost universal opinion that the former is the true principle, and that all attempts to confine the governing power to the wise and the good, only results in confering it upon the cunning and the bad, and creates a class that exercise their superior wisdom, if superior wisdom they have, mainly in securing and maintaining for themselves privileges and advantages, which are denied to the classes excluded. In the times immediately succeeding the revolution, however, the contrary opinion prevailed, as it does still in England. The general opinion was that in some

way or other the preponderance of power ought to be retained in the hands of the higher classes, and endless were the debates on the principles and tests by which the individuals who constituted the higher classes, worthy of being the chief depositories of power, should be ascertained. Should a property qualification be the test? If so, how rich must a man be to be a voter,—or to be a member of Congress,—or a president. Some thought that it would be safe to elect a president who was not worth more than a thousand dollars, while others were of opinion that not less than two hundred thousand would be sufficient to make him really trustworthy.

Then, too, what *kinds* of property were to be included in making up the qualifications? Should it be real estate alone? Should slaves be reckoned as property for this end, and if so, should they also be considered as property in respect to the ratio of taxation.

On these and similar points, and on the infinite number of details involved in them there was a vast diversity of opinion, and it seemed for a long time impossible that the convention could ever come to a common understanding in respect to them. The subject of property qualifications in politics is always an exceedingly unmanageable one.

DIVERSITIES OF OPINION IN RESPECT TO DETAILS.

Besides these differences of opinion on really important principles, there were endless diversities and interminable discussions about details, many of which were of very little significance, and were scarcely to be reasoned about at all,—such as of what precise number should the new senate and new house consist?—how often should they be elected, and for precisely what term should they serve?—what should be the limit of age to make men elegible?—how should the chief executive officer be chosen?—what should be his title and how long should he serve? On this latter point some argued strenuously for one year, some for two, others for three, four, five and six,—each speaker attaching great importance to his own particular view. Then how should the president be chosen,—by the people, or by the State governments, or by the national senate, or by the house of representatives? The discussion of these and many other similar points of detail consumed a large portion of the time of the assembly, without appearing to lead to any satisfactory result.

PARTIES.

In regard to the points above mentioned, the differences of opinion were those of individuals

rather than of parties, as they did not involve the interests of any particular classes of States, or of any of the great industrial avocations of the country. There were certain great questions, however, on which distinct parties were formed, according as the interests of different classes of States, and of different sections of the country, were involved in them. The two great divisions of this character were those arising from the distinction of large and small States, and of the products of free and slave labor.

THE LARGE AND SMALL STATES.

There was then as now a great difference among the different States, in respect not only to extent of territory, but to the wealth and population of the inhabitants. The small States were, of course, interested in framing the new government in such a way as to sustain as much as possible the equality of the States in the administration of it; while the large States would desire that the system to be adopted should assume a form to give the different districts of the country a share in the control, proportioned in some degree to the number and the wealth of the inhabitants. If the people of the whole country were blended into one community, for the management of affairs of common interest

to all, then some of the small States, comprising but a limited territory and containing few inhabitants, would be lost, as it were, in the great mass, nd their influence would be comparatively insignificant. On the other hand, if the general people were not so blended, but if the distinction of States was still kept up in the general government, so as to give to all the States an equal voice, which is what the smaller States demanded, then thousands of people in one part of the country—individually as wealthy and as important as any—would have less influence in the management of public affairs than hundreds might have in another.

This was a vital question. Indeed the basis of the whole structure depended upon the disposal of it. It gave rise to earnest and almost perpetual conflicts in the convention, and once or twice came near bringing the whole undertaking to an end.

FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

A great many exceedingly important questions arose out of the distinction of Free and Slave States which led to the formation of parties on this subject too. One point was the continuance of the importation of slaves. The Slave States wished that the general government should have no control over this subject; the others thought that, whatever opinion

might be entertained in respect to continuing to hold men already slaves in bondage, the business of making new victims, by causing them to be seized in their native land and brought across the ocean to be sold into eternal bondage in America, was barbarous and cruel, and ought no longer to be endured.

NAVIGATION LAWS.

The subject of investing the proposed general government with power to enact navigation laws—by which are meant laws tending to confine the commerce of the country to ships built by the people of the country—was one on which the Slave and Free States took different sides. The people of the Slave States did not build ships, and they had no particular facilities for building them. Their industry was confined to raising certain staple productions to be sent abroad, and they wished the privilege of exporting them, and of bringing in return cargoes of manufactured goods, by any ships that could be obtained most easily, wherever they might be built. The Free States, on the other hand, were greatly interested in ship building and navigation, and they naturally thought it important to the country at large that this interest should be protected and fostered by proper legislation.

WISE COUNSELS PREVAIL IN THE END.

In the midst of the turmoil and confusion made by the earnest and sometimes angry debates to which all these various questions gave rise there was, after all, as has already been said, a still small voice of patriotism, moderation and wisdom, which made itself heard, and succeeded, little by little and step by step, as the debates went on, in so shaping the course and action of the body that a fair, equitable and in almost every respect excellent system, was developed and adopted in the end. Several of the subjects of disagreement above mentioned were settled by compromise.

THE TWO COMPROMISES.

There were two principal compromises made. The first,—in respect to *the small and large States*—was that the small States should be favored by having an equal representation with the large in the national senate, and the large ones,—which were then chiefly slave States—by having three-fifths of the number of their slaves reckoned in determining the basis of representation in the lower house. The other—in respect to the interests of *free and slave labor*—was that the new government should have power to enact laws favoring northern ships and shipping, and that on the other hand the south

should not be prevented from importing slaves until after the expiration of twenty years.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE SYSTEM THAT WAS ADOPTED.

The plan finally adopted by the Convention to be recommended to the States was in its essential features as follows.

1. The people of all the States were to be united and blended, in respect to the exercise of certain specified governmental functions, into one great community, the whole territory to be divided into districts containing an equal population, each one of which was to send one member as delegate to a body to be called the House of Representatives.

2. Every State as a State was to designate two persons who were to be members of another body called the Senate. These senators, however, were not to be considered as embassadors from the States, or delegates especially representing the State governments appointing them, for they had no power to act for the State governments, or to bind them in any way; nor after their appointment were they to have any official communication with the State governments. The States designated them, but after being so designated they were each bound in their deliberations to act with a view to the interests of the whole country. They could not in fact act as in any sense

depositories of the political power of the States appointing them, for as members of the general government their functions were confined entirely to a class of subjects over which the States, *as States*, were expressly to resign all jurisdiction and control.

3. The third and the great distinguishing feature of the new system, as compared with that of the old Confederation was the establishment of an executive department with the powers conferred upon it to carry into effect all the measures and enactments of the general government, by having liberty to enter everywhere upon the territory of the several States, to purchase and hold land there for forts, arsenals, navy-yards, custom houses and all other necessary national purposes, to establish its own courts, and appoint its own officers, and other functionaries there, and thus to execute at once by its own direct agency, its own measures, and to supply itself with all the necessary means, both of men and money, for carrying its measures into effect by its power over the individual citizen.

The head of this executive system was to be styled the President of the United States, and all the necessary machinery was provided for of custom houses, and custom house officers to collect duties, and assessors and collectors of taxes, and courts, and sheriffs, and commissioners, to execute the laws,

and everything else to enable the new government to act *itself*, at once, by its own machinery, instead of calling upon the several States by *requisitions* to act for them.

SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE STATES.

By accepting and ratifying the proposed constitution, the States were to surrender entirely and forever, all that portion of the power that had previously belonged to them as sovereignties, which pertained to certain subjects of general interest therein referred to the general government, in order that in respect to these subjects the people of the whole land might exercise sovereignty in respect to those subjects, as one people. These subjects were,

All the relations of the country with foreign nations, including the Indian tribes, whether friendly relations as those of commerce in time of peace, or hostile in time of war.

The coining and regulation of the national money.

The postal system.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

The plan of the general government was made complete by the establishment of a complete system of national courts to try and decide all questions arising between different States, or individuals of

different States, and to punish all offences against the national laws. This system consisted of district courts for the various portions of the country, and a supreme court to sit as a court of appeal at the seat of government.

THE PLAN SUBMITTED TO THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

As the Confederate Congress, or the Continental Congress as it was still sometimes called, had continued to exist, and perform some feeble functions, it was deemed proper to transmit the report of the Convention to them, to be by them communicated to the several States. The Congress was at that time in session at New York. There was some debate in that body on the question whether to transmit the document to the States or not, but it was finally decided to do so, and copies of the proposed constitution were sent to the governments of all the States, with a view to calling conventions of the people to consider the question of ratifying it This was late in September, 1787.

THE RATIFICATION.

The question of the ratification of the new constitution was to be passed upon in conventions of the people chosen for the purpose, because the proposed organization was considered not as a compact

between the State governments but a new general government formed by the people. Conventions were accordingly chosen in nearly all the States, and long debates and discussions ensued in each of them. It was not till three months after the proposed form was laid before the country that the first State population ratified it, and that was Delaware. The decision of the rest came in very slowly. There was great difference of opinion—both on principles and on details—which led to much disputing and great delay. As one after another of the conventions came to a decision, some voted to ratify conditionally; others ratified absolutely, but recommended modifications of the plan. It was nearly a year before the ratifications of ten States were secured. This number was thought to be sufficient to justify putting the new government into operation, and measures were accordingly adopted for that purpose. The other three States came in afterward. North Carolina and Rhode Island were the two last, and they did not come in until after the first President had been chosen.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Without waiting any longer for these last doubting and hesitating parties to come to a conclusion, the people of the country prepared to put the new

system into operation, leaving the doubters to join them afterward or not as they chose. The first step was the election of the President, on whom would devolve the duty of organizing the new government and setting the machinery in motion.

It seemed to be assumed as a matter of course by the whole country that Washington was the person on whom this duty would devolve. The election was, however, regularly held, according to the prescribed form, and Washington was unanimously chosen.

CHAPTER IX.

INAUGURATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

DEPARTURE OF WASHINGTON FROM MOUNT VERNON.

WASHINGTON was officially notified of his election as the first President of the United States on the 14th of April, 1789. His preparations for departure from home were already in an advanced state of forwardness, as the certainty of the fact of his election had been known for some time,—the notification being only an official formality. Two days after it was received he set out on his journey to New York, which was to be for a time the seat of the government about to be organized.

ESCORT OF NEIGHBORS AND FRIENDS.

After bidding farewell to his family and people, Washington commenced his journey, but was met at a short distance from the boundaries of the estate by a cavalcade of gentlemen of Virginia, his neighbors and friends, who had made arrangements to assemble in the neighborhood and escort him as far

as Alexandria, which was about ten miles up the river from Mount Vernon, and constituted the first stage of the journey.

This cavalcade was ready, and advanced to meet the President as he left the confines of the estate. One of the party in receiving him made a brief address, in which, after alluding to the great services which he had rendered the country, and through which he had become the object of universal respect and veneration, proceeded to speak more particularly of the benefits which he had been the means of conferring upon his neighbors and friends in the district where he resided, the useful public works which he had promoted, and the various enterprises for promoting the welfare and prosperity of the region which had been sustained and carried to a successful issue through his exertion and influence. They mourned the loss which they were to sustain by his being again about to leave them; but his country called him, they said, and they wished him to go. Finally they bade him farewell, commending him, during his absence, to the protection of heaven in the following words:

"To that Being who maketh and unmaketh at His will we commend you, and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are

called, may He restore to us again the best of men and the most beloved fellow-citizen."

WASHINGTON'S REPLY.

Washington was much moved by this manifestation of affectionate and respectful regard from the people of the country around. To their address he made the following reply:

"GENTLEMEN:—Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice, the opinion of my friends communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as America, and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in cementing the good will of my countrymen toward each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best, and you my fellow-citizens are from your situation in that number, know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great that no earthly consideration short of a conviction of duty could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature: for at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages

could I propose to myself from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

"I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection, and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

"In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, that just after having bid adieu to my domestic connections, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

"All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the protection of that benfiecent Being, who, on a former occasion, happily brought us together after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must, then, be left to more expressive silence, while from an aching heart I bid you all, my affectionate friends and kind neighbors, farewell!"

PROGRESS OF THE JOURNEY.

When the party arrived at Alexandria, Washington found the inhabitants assembled to receive him with public honors. There was also another escort formed there, ready to conduct him on the next stage of his journey, which was to Georgetown. Thus he went on with escort after escort. When he reached the Schuylkill just before entering Philadelphia, he found the bridge across that river decorated with a triumphal arch of laurel, with laurel shrubbery at each end of it. As Washington passed under the arch, a civic crown, adorned with sprigs of laurel, was let down and placed upon his head by a boy concealed from view.

On the farther side of the bridge Washington found the road lined with crowds of people, who rent the air with acclamations as he passed along. Thus advancing, conducted by the authorities of the city, and followed by his escort—he entered the town, and proceeded to Independence Hall, the edifice in which the Continental Congress had held its sessions when the Declaration of Independence was passed, and where the document was signed. In this hall a grand reception had been arranged for him, and here he was welcomed anew, with addresses and congratulations by the public authorities and their friends, and by shouts of acclamation

from the vast crowds of people assembled in the streets around.

UNIVERSAL ENTHUSIASM.

The excitement and enthusiasm of the people seemed to increase as the journey went on. After leaving Philadelphia his course lay up the Delaware River. As he passed along the people everywhere gathered to see him. Every town appointed delegates of its citizens to go out to meet him as he approached. Entertainments were given in honor of him and addresses made, expressive of congratulation and joy. Military companies were called out to escort him from place to place, and at all the principal points his arrival was announced by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. In a word his progress through the country was marked by the applause and the rejoicings of the whole population.

CELEBRATION AT THE BRIDGE AT TRENTON.

One of the principal scenes of this grand ovation was enacted at Trenton, where Washington, about twelve years before, performed his grand exploit of passing his army across the Delaware in the night, in boats, among the floating ice, and in a snow-storm, and surprising and capturing a large British

force in the town, thus gaining one of the most important victories of the war. This was accordingly thought to be a fitting place for some special celebration.

The arrangements were made, and the ceremonies were conducted by the ladies of Trenton. They caused a triumphal arch to be erected upon a bridge across a small stream near the town, which had been the scene of some of the most important operations connected with the battle, and adorned it with wreaths of laurel and with a profusion of flowers—some gathered from the fields and forests and some from the gardens and conservatories in the town. Upon the crown of the arch was an inscription formed ingeniously of evergreen leaves and flowers, and containing the words:

December 26th, 1776.

This was the date of the battle. On the sweep of the arch below were the words, also formed of leaves and flowers:

The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters.

Washington was received at this arch, and welcomed on his passage through it, by a large procession of the ladies of Trenton. They arranged

themselves, as he approached, on each side of the road, the children on one side dressed in white, and each bearing a basket of flowers, and the young ladies upon the other, dressed in the same manner; while the mothers stood in a row on each side behind.

After Washington had passed through the arch he stopped to listen to a song of welcome, in two stanzas, which was to be sung by a choir of singers stationed near. These stanzas were written for the occasion, and the idea which they conveyed was that of the striking contrast between the circumstances of his crossing the river in the face of desperate and implacable enemies twelve years before, and those which marked his transition now, welcomed by the grateful and joyful acclamations of friends, who owed to him their own personal protection and the salvation of their country. The words were as follows:

Welcome, mighty chief, once more!
Welcome to this grateful shore!
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow—
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Whom thy conquering arm did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers!
Strew your hero's way with flowers!

WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT-ELECT.

As these last words were sung the children strewed the road with flowers from their baskets, and Washington and his suite passed on into the town—the incessant ringing of bells and booming of guns adding excitement to the scene.

ARRIVAL AT NEW YORK.

In due time Washington arrived at his place of destination, New York, where, on account of circumstances which cannot be here particularly detailed, it had been decided that the new government should be organized and set in operation.

ENTRANCE INTO NEW YORK.

The land journey of the party ended at Elizabethtown. where at Elizabethtown Point, on the Passaic River, an elegant barge had been provided to convey the President and his suite to the city. He had requested that his entrance to the city might be made in a private manner and without parade; but the people would not consent to this, and arrangements had accordingly been made for an imposing aquatic procession to conduct the party from the place of embarkation at Elizabethtown Point along the channel between Staten Island and the mainland, and thence up the harbor to the city

THE BARGES.

The barge in which Washington himself was to be conveyed was constructed expressly for the occasion. It was manned by thirteen chief pilots, masters of pilot vessels belonging to the harbor. They were dressed in white, and were commanded by a naval officer of high rank. This barge was attended and followed by other barges, all gaily decorated with flags and banners. These vessels conveyed the heads of the departments who had held office under the confederation, and who had not yet been replaced, and other official personages of high rank, together with several distinguished citizens of New York who had been honored with invitations to join in the procession. They advanced in regular order, and as they proceeded along the shores of Staten Island and turned to go up the harbor they were met by great numbers of other boats coming from town, all likewise gaily decorated. The boats, as they met the approaching procession, turned aside and waited on their oars for the barges to pass, and then fell into the rear, thus forming, as the fleet advanced toward the city, a long and imposing procession.

One of the boats which closely accompanied the President's barge, contained an instrumental band playing marches, military airs, and other exciting

music on the way; and when the head of the column drew near the landing place it passed by two vessels containing a party of ladies and gentlemen, who sang congratulatory odes as Washington's barge approached.

The various vessels lying at anchor in the harbor, were all decorated with flags, and the ships of war of different nations that chanced to be present at the time, manned their yards, and saluted the passing procession by the lowering of their colors, the huzzas of the seamen, and the thundering of the guns.

THE LANDING.

Preparations for the landing had been made at Murray's wharf, at the foot of Murray street. The wharf itself and all the streets adjoining it, were thronged with spectators who rent the air with their acclamations, the sounds of which were mingled with the ringing of bells from all the steeples, and the booming of guns. On landing from the barge, Washington was received by Governor Clinton, the governor of New York, General Knox, one of his former companions in arms, and many other officers, both civil and military, and other persons of distinction. A carriage had also been provided for him, to convey him through the streets, with a

carpet laid down for him to walk upon, in order to reach it. An officer advanced also, with the military salute, and announced himself as the commander of the life-guard which had been provided to escort the president to the governor's house, and asked for his excellency's orders.

Washington was embarrassed rather than gratified by these marks of homage, such as in Europe would be accorded to a sovereign prince at a coronation. He replied to the officer of the guard that he might proceed with his duty according to the arrangements which had been made by the committee, and he declined the carriage, saying it would be more agreeable to him to walk.

THE PROCESSION TO THE GOVERNOR'S.

The guard, together with the various officers and persons of distinction who had come to accompany Washington to his lodgings, formed a long military and civic procession, under the escort of which the president at once proceeded through the streets toward the house of the governor. The streets were so thronged that it was with difficulty that the procession could make its way. Arches had been erected here and there, and every house was decorated with flags, banners, garlands of flowers, and inscriptions of congratulation and welcome.

The president proceeded in this manner to the house of the governor, where he was to be entertained. He met at the dinner table a number of civil and military officers and other persons of distinction, and in the evening the city was given up to illuminations and fireworks, and to other demonstrations of festivity and joy.

THE INAUGURATION.

The formal induction of the president into office, took place on the 30th of April, about a week after his arrival in the city. The ceremony was performed at Federal Hall, so called, a public edifice which stood in Wall Street, on the site of the present custom house. There was a wide balcony upon the front of the building which extended over the sidewalk, and afforded a fine position for administering the oath in view of an immense concourse of spectators that assembled in the street below, and at the windows and upon the roofs of the surrounding buildings. There was a roof over the balcony, with tall columns supporting it, leaving the balcony itself, which was quite large, almost entirely open above the balustrade to public view.

In the centre of the balcony had been placed a table covered with a crimson cloth, and upon the table a magnificently bound bible, intended to be

used for administering the oath, reposed upon a crimson velvet cushion. One or two arm chairs were placed near the table.

As soon as Washington and those accompanying him who were to take part in the ceremony appeared upon the balcony, they were received by long and loud acclamations from the immense throng that had assembled. Washington was attired in the court dress of those times, with knee buckles, and long silk stockings, shoes with silver clasps, a sword, and powdered hair dressed with a silken bag behind.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE OATH.

After advancing to the front of the balcony to receive and acknowledge the congratulations of the people, Washington stepped back and took his seat in one of the chairs near the table until silence should be restored. When all was still he arose again and advanced to the front of the balcony; accompanied by John Adams, the vice-president elect, on one side, and by Robert R. Livingston, the chancellor of the State of New York, who was to administer the oath, on the other. Several other gentlemen of distinction stood in the rear, among whom were Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, General Knox, Baron Steuben and others.

The secretary of state, Mr. Otis, raised the bible from the table on its velvet cushion, and held it in a convenient position for the performance of the ceremony. The chancellor then read the oath, enunciating the words in a very slow, distinct and audible manner, while the vast throngs in the streets, and at the windows, on the roofs and in the balconies of the houses around, listened in solemn silence.

Washington uttered his response in the same distinct and emphatic manner, and then reverently kissed the book which the secretary held before him for that purpose.

REJOICINGS.

As soon as this ceremony was concluded the chancellor came forward to the front of the balcony, and waving his hand to the vast audience, he called out with a loud voice,

"Long live George Washington, President of the United States."

This announcement that the ceremony of taking the oath was completed, was received with one loud and universal burst of acclamation from the assembled multitude. At the same moment a flag was run up the staff upon the cupola of the building, as

a signal to the men stationed at the guns on the battery, and the air was instantly filled with the roar of artillery, and with the ringing of the bells of every steeple and tower in the city.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES.

Washington then, after bowing once more to the assembled multitude, retired from the balcony, and proceeding to the principal legislative hall within the building, he delivered his inaugural address, in the hearing of a large audience, consisting of the members of Congress and other persons of distinction. On the conclusion of the address, the whole legislative body, with the executive officers of the government and many invited guests, proceeded in order to St. Paul's church, where the ceremonies of the day were closed by appropriate religious services.

INFLUENTIAL MEN ASSOCIATED WITH WASHINGTON IN THE GOVERNMENT.

Among the most prominent men who were politically associated with Washington in the early administration of public affairs, and whose influence was most decided in first shaping the institutions and directing the policy of the government, perhaps the most conspicuous were John Adams, Alexander

Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison These persons had all taken a very active and prominent part in forming the federal constitution, and also, by their commanding influence among the people of the country, in promoting the ratification of it by the States; and they were now severally appointed by the president, or had been elected by the people, to occupy prominent positions in the organization and administration of the new government.

JOHN ADAMS.

John Adams was the vice president, and by virtue of this office, the president of the senate. He was a citizen of Boston, and the leading representative of the New England States in the counsels of the general government. He had occupied this position in fact during the whole period of the revolutionary war, having been from the beginning a very prominent and leading member of the Continental Congress. Some one on examining the records of the proceedings of that body, found that Adams had been a member of ninety committees, and chairman of twenty-five of them. On all the questions that arose during the whole period previous to the commencement of the presidency of Washington—including the conduct of the war, the

management of negotiations with foreign powers at the conclusion of it, and the forming of the federal constitution, his agency was very active, and was of the most important character. He was appointed as one of the commissioners to the court of Versailles to negotiate the treaty of peace, and during his residence abroad he acquired a distinguished reputation among the European courts, where his influence in promoting the interests of the American government was of the most marked and striking character.

He was now between fifty and sixty years of age, and his ripe experience, his intimate knowledge of public affairs, the weight and dignity of his character, his great ascendancy over the minds of his countrymen, especially of the people of New England, and his exalted position as president of the senate, combined to render him a very safe and able counsellor, and Washington relied greatly upon his judgment in the decision of every important question.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Hamilton was about twenty years younger than Adams, being at the time of the inauguration of President Washington about thirty-two years of age. Young as he was, however, he was already

greatly distinguished. He entered the army of the revolution from Columbia College, New York, when he was about nineteen years of age, and there soon attracted the attention of General Washington, who appointed him one of his aids, and he remained attached personally to the general during the whole period of the war.

At the close of the war he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He immediately began to acquire an eminent position, but was soon diverted from his profession by being elected a member of Congress under the old confederation, and from that time he devoted himself entirely to political life. He very soon acquired great distinction in Congress, and he took a very active part in the formation of the federal constitution, and subsequently exerted a great influence in securing the adoption of it through the efforts which he made to explain the principles of the system to the people at large, and the eloquence and ability with which he advocated them

THE FEDERALIST.

The chief vehicle through which Hamilton and those acting with him conveyed their explanations and reasoning, in respect to the federal constitution, to the public was a series of periodical essays which

they published under the name of the Federalist. Hamilton was himself the principal writer of the articles of this work, though he was greatly aided by Madison and by some other powerful coadjutors. The Federalist exerted great influence at the time in clearly explaining to the people of the country the principles of the new constitution, and in securing its adoption; and the work has since assumed the character of a standard authority of the highest value, as an authentic contemporaneous exposition of the views and intentions of the founders of the constitution, and of the proper interpretation to be put upon the language of the document in all cases of doubt or disagreement that may arise in the practical working of the system.

HAMILTON'S PUBLIC CAREER.

Hamilton was appointed by the president to the office of secretary of the treasury; for, in addition to the other evidences of superior statesmanship which his writings had evinced, he had shown himself extremely well informed on questions of finance. Washington, in addition to the confidence which he had in his ability as a statesman, felt a strong personal affection for him as a man. This affection had grown up in the course of the years of danger, anxiety and suffering which they had spent together

during the war. He consequently regarded him not only as an able coadjutor in his government, but also as a dear and highly valued personal friend.

Hamilton managed the affairs of his department with great ability while he remained in office. He was subsequently called to render public services of the highest importance in various capacities, both civil and military, and finally became in the minds of his countrymen an object of universal and very exalted estimation.

HIS UNTIMELY END.

At length, when he was nearly fifty years of age, he became involved in some difficulty with Aaron Burr, arising from a rude demand made upon him by Burr to explain or apologize for something which he had said in his political writings. Hamilton refused to do either, and Burr challenged him to a duel.

The duel was fought at Hoboken, near New York, with much formality and ceremony, and Hamilton was slain. The excitement of the public mind awakened by this duel, and the shock universally produced by the fatal termination of it, moved the people of this country more deeply than any other event of the kind that has ever occurred.

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF POLITICS.

Although the leading statesmen of the country had finally agreed to support the frame of government established by the federal constitution, it was, after all, only by the spirit of compromise and of mutual concession that they did so; for, as has already been shown in a previous chapter, there was a serious difference of opinion among them in respect to the fundamental principles on which government, in modern civilized societies, ought to be founded. The question which separated them was the one which divides public opinion at the present day in all enlightened nations, and constitutes the most general and most important line of demarcation between the great political parties that are contending against each other in every free community. The question is this:

Ought governmental institutions to be so framed as to retain political power as much as possible in the hands of the wise and the good, or so as to diffuse it equally throughout the whole community, and thus to give every man that is subject to it a just and equal share.

In all the governments of Europe the former has always been the principle acted upon—the wise and good being understood to mean practically the rich and powerful. The struggle, however, between the

two sets of opinions has been going on there very vigorously for many years,—one party, calling themselves conservatives, making every effort to retain political power and influence in the hands of the smallest possible number—and they of the upper classes—on the theory that they are more trustworthy and better informed than the mass of the community, and may accordingly be taken for the wise and the good; and the other endeavoring to diffuse and extend the elements of power, so as to admit larger and larger portions of the population to the exercise of their proper portion of it.

OPINIONS OF ADAMS AND HAMILTON.

This same division of political opinions existed in America, though in a somewhat mitigated form; one class being inclined to bring the mass of the people much more fully, completely and directly into the possession of political power than the other. Adams and Hamilton were representatives and leaders of the first class, Jefferson and Madison of the second.

It is true that Adams and Hamilton, and the men with whom they acted, were by no means in favor of a legal and formal exclusion of the humbler classes from all participation in government, as in England; but while they were willing to give all a

vote in the first instance, and thus to make the government a popular one in theory, still they were inclined to favor such arrangements, in regulating the actual working of the machine, as should practically keep the control in the hands of the few.

A MONARCHY IMPOSSIBLE.

Indeed Hamilton, it is said, would have been inclined to favor a monarchy as the best form of government for America, if a monarchy had been possible. But he knew well that this was out of the question, for the reason that it is impossible to improvise a king. It takes many centuries to make a king. It is true that a conqueror may place one of his generals, or a congress of sovereigns some younger son of a royal family, in a gilded chair on a dais, in the capital of some subjugated country, and call him a king; but he is not really a king, nor can they possibly make him one. He is a chief magistrate created by appointment or election, holding his office only for a brief term, and liable to be suddenly ejected from it at any time for real or supposed misbehavior.

The brothers and son of the first Napoleon were such kings as these. So were, or are, Louis Phillippe, Otho and George of Greece, and Leopold of Belgium; and we may one of these days have such

a king made for Canada. But in forming our national constitution even those who were inclined to favor monarchical institutions as the best, provided there existed in the state a royal family which had been spreading its roots in the history and heart of the nation for so many centuries that no trace or tradition remained of the origin of its power, knew perfectly well that where no such dynasty existed it would be impossible to supply its place by any artificial process of appointment or election.

OPINIONS OF JEFFERSON AND MADISON.

Jefferson and Madison on the other hand were utterly opposed to aristocratic or monarchical systems of government on principle. They were the leaders and representatives of a class of statesmen, whose policy was to lay the foundations of government on a very broad basis—as broad as humanity itself. They considered this the most just and at the same time the safest system, and the best for all concerned. They wished to carry down the foundations of political power until it should come to a bearing, and find a support, in the regularly expressed will of every man who was to be subject to its jurisdiction, and to bring the action of the government as directly, as closely, and as invariably as

possible under the control of the general popular voice. They thought it the best policy to give up all hope of making the government better than the majority of the people;—to allow the popular determination—as ascertained by a fair and formal expression of the will of all classes of the community—to be carried into effect, whether right or wrong in the opinion of individuals;—and if evils should exist, to aim at rectifying them by changing the national will, and not thwarting it or controlling it by any higher authority constituted for this purpose.

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN THE ONLY SAFE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

The principle of giving every man a voice in the ultimate control and management of public affairs, constitutes altogether the most stable and secure foundation for government, for under such a system every man, knowing that he has his fair share of influence in determining the course of public policy, feels a personal interest in the government, and a wish that it should be sustained; whereas, under the other system there is always a large class of men, who, having no voice in the government, must be held in subjection by it. This requires the organization and maintenance of a large and per-

manent military force, and even then the country which holds a large portion of the population in this condition is continually exposed to the outbreak of riots, insurrections and revolutions.

For the first fifty years of the existence of this government, during which universal suffrage as the foundation of government, and a control, as direct, immediate and complete as possible, over all the measures of the government by the will of the whole people, prevailed, not one tenth part of the military force, in proportion to the population, was required to maintain the authority of the government, that has been deemed necessary in France and England, and in all other monarchical countries during the same period.

And when at last our great rebellion came, it had its origin solely in causes arising from the fact that in a large section of the country nearly half the population were deprived of all personal and political rights; so that our own terrible troubles, when they finally came, arose solely from our refusal to carry out fully the principles of the system.

THE ONLY JUST AS WELL AS THE ONLY SAFE POLICY.

Jefferson considered the system of equal rights for all men as not only the safest, but as the only just system. A man born in any country had

naturally an equal right with all the rest to a voice in determining the policy on which his life and his welfare, and those of his wife and children depended. For one portion of the community to exclude the est from all share in the control, on the ground that they themselves were the best judges of the proper measures to be adopted to promote the general welfare, seemed to him to be the perpetration of a great injustice and wrong.

The friends of equal rights in those days did not consider ignorance and poverty as constituting a just ground for depriving a man of his voice in the management of public affairs. There are very few men in any community who are competent to form an enlightened opinion in respect to the details of legislation,—that is, there are in any community very few statesmen. But a man in exercising the right of suffrage does not assume to judge of the details of measures for promoting the public good, but only to decide to what man or party of men he will prefer to commit the keeping of his interests and those of his class, in the determination of those measures. And he has a right to that privilege.

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE THE SAFEGUARD OF THE POOR.

Indeed the poorer, more ignorant, and more miserable a man is, the more indispensable to him is

his vote. It is his protection. It may constitute almost his chief claim to the consideration of those around him. A man of wealth and high standing has so many other modes of exerting an influence on public opinion, and on the policy and measures of government, that his mere vote is of comparatively little consequence to him. Deprive a millionaire of his vote and you diminish his political influence in an almost inappreciable degree. But a poor man's vote is politically his all. If he and those situated as he is are deprived of it, they lose all the means of protection they have against the enactment of laws pressing heavily upon them, and tending to fix and perpetuate their degradation and poverty.

POSITION OF JEFFERSON IN WASHINGTON'S GOVERNMENT.

Jefferson was appointed by Washington to the office of secretary of state under the new government. Although still young he had occupied a very prominent position before the public for many years. He was a Virginian, and had exerted a great influence in shaping the institutions and policy of his State. He was a member of the Continental Congress and took a very prominent part in the deliberations of that body. It was by him that the first draft of the Declaration of Independence was made.

Some time after the close of the war he was sent to France as United States Minister at the French court, and it was from this position that he was called by Washington to a seat in his cabinet as secretary of state. In this office he had charge of all the foreign relations of the government, and all its intercourse with European powers.

During his whole political career Jefferson was uniform and consistent in his efforts so to shape the fundamental institutions, both of his State and of the nation, as to secure to every man an equal voice in the general direction of public affairs, and equal rights in every respect before the law. He did all in his power to promote the abolition of slavery in Virginia,—and finding this impracticable, he was the means of securing the adoption of effectual measures for preventing the extension of the system into the unsettled territories then within the national jurisdiction. If the policy which he so earnestly recommended had been fully adopted by his countrymen, the nation would have been saved the sacrifice of a million of lives, and of five thousand millions of dollars in property, which the consent that it gave to the depriving of a large fraction of the population of all personal and civil rights, was destined in the end to cost it.

JAMES MADISON.

Madison was not one of Washington's cabinet officers. He was a member of the House of Representatives, and his ability as a speaker, conjoined with the great reputation which he had acquired throughout the country by the prominent part which he had taken in framing the federal constitution, and in promoting the adoption of it by the States, and by the people, soon gave him a commanding influence in that body. Washington too, felt a great confidence in his political judgment and experience, and often consulted him on the proper course to be pursued in the various important emergencies occurring. His name has thus become associated with those of Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson and others, as among the leading men under whose guidance and direction the first movements of the vast system of government established by the constitution of the United States were made.

INCIPIENT DIVERGENCY OF POLITICAL OPINION.

It has already been said that Adams and Hamilton, and a large class of politicians sympathizing with them, were inclined to favor what is called a strong government, that is, one in which the political institutions and usages should be so framed as to keep the control as much as possible in the hands

of the more respectable, more wealthy and better educated classes of society, thus producing a concentrated and in some respects an insulated authority, while Jefferson and Madison, representing another class, were more inclined to diffuse and distribute the elements of power, in order to give it the widest possible basis, and to bring as directly as possible within the reach of every man his fair portion of control over the measures and the policy, which, affecting the general welfare, were of common interest to all. These diversities of opinion, though they existed from the beginning, did not immediately manifest themselves decidedly in such a way as to produce divided councils; though a divergence soon commenced which rapidly widened and extended, until the foundation was laid for the organization of two great parties, between which a continued struggle was carried on with great earnestness and vigor for many years.

THE FIRST TEST QUESTION.

The first occasion on which these different theories of government were brought to bear upon a practical question was, as it would seem, not a very serious one. It related only to the forms and ceremonies, and points of etiquette, which should be observed by the new government, and especially by

the president, in his official intercourse with Congress and with the people, and also with the representatives of foreign powers. The president was aware that there was a certain importance to be attached to the beginning that he should make in these respects, inasmuch as the practices which he should observe would be very likely to become precedents for succeeding administrations.

He accordingly addressed formal inquiries to several of the leading men around him, requesting their views on these points.

The answers to these queries revealed quite an important difference of opinion among the statesmen consulted, in respect to the proper system of forms and usages to be observed in the administration of a republican government. Those who, in their general views, were inclined to favor a strong government and a restricted basis of power, were disposed to recommend more formality and ceremony and parade than those who were more democratic in their views thought desirable.

ADAMS'S OPINION.

John Adams, who, besides being influenced by the general tendency of his political opinions, had spent some years in European courts, and had become accustomed to the regal pomp and splendor

usually displayed in monarchical countries, was in favor of adopting something of the same state and parade in America. His opinion was that the office of President of the United States was superior in dignity and power to any political position in the world except that of some of the European kings, and that the state and ceremony with which the functions of the office were performed ought to correspond in some degree with its exalted character.

Accordingly, Mr. Adams recommended quite an imposing system of formalities for the regulation of the president's intercourse with those about him—such as regular applications for audience through the minister of state; stated times for receiving visits; a corps of military aides, and masters of ceremonies for the presidential mansion, to guard the approaches to the audience room; regular levees to be held at appointed times in great state; formal and ceremonious entertainments, to which official persons should be invited in rotation on a regular system; and an imposing equipage for the president when appearing in public, with four or six horses, and servants and outriders in livery.

HAMILTON.

Hamilton, although in his general views of government belonging to the same school with

Adams, was much less advanced than he in his ideas of official ceremonial. This was owing, doubtless, to the fact that, while Adams had been for several years preceding living in the midst of the pomp and splendor of European courts, Hamilton had remained in this country, where he had held daily intercourse with the people, and understood better the democratic tendency of the age. In his reply to the president's inquiry, he took care to say that, while he considered it important for the public good that the dignity of the presidential office should be properly supported, it was still highly desirable to avoid taking so high a tone as to shock the prevalent notions of equality.

JEFFERSON.

Jefferson, on the other hand, attached very little importance to these artificial modes of adding dignity to power. Adams, he thought, "had been so dazzled with the glare of nobility and royalty during his mission to England, as to be made to believe that their fascination was a necessary ingredient in government." He and those who thought with him, favored a plain republican simplicity in the action of the government, and his views in this respect as well as in others, gradually gained the ascendancy, until at length the universal sentiment

of the American people has become entirely averse to all attempts to add to the prestige of office and power, by any external paraphernalia whatever.

GRADUAL FORMATION OF THE GREAT FEDERAL AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

This diversity of views among the people of the country in respect to the fundamental principles of public polity, which first manifested itself, after the organization of the government, on this comparatively unimportant question of etiquette and ceremonial parade, became gradually more and more marked, until, as has already been said, it resulted in the formation of two grand parties, which struggled against each other for national ascendancy for more than half a century. The formation of these parties was hastened, and the vigor of their animosity against each other was greatly increased, by circumstances which grew out of the French revolution, and the wars between France and England which ensued. The French revolution was the result of a struggle for equal rights for all men, against hereditary privilege and power; while England, in contending against the French republic, took the attitude of a champion of the conservative principle, so-called, that is, a reliance for the preservation of law and order in any community, on retaining the

governmental control in the hands of the upper classes of society. Of course in the contests between England and France which immediately arose, it was natural that Adams and Hamilton, and those who acted with them should sympathize with the British, while the party of Jefferson and Madison would incline to wish success to the French. In the complications which ensued various incidents and events occurred, which, though it does not come within the limits of this series to relate them in detail,—tended strongly to involve the American government in the quarrel, and of course this state of things rapidly increased the sharpness of the line which divided the two great parties, and greatly aggravated the antagonism between them.

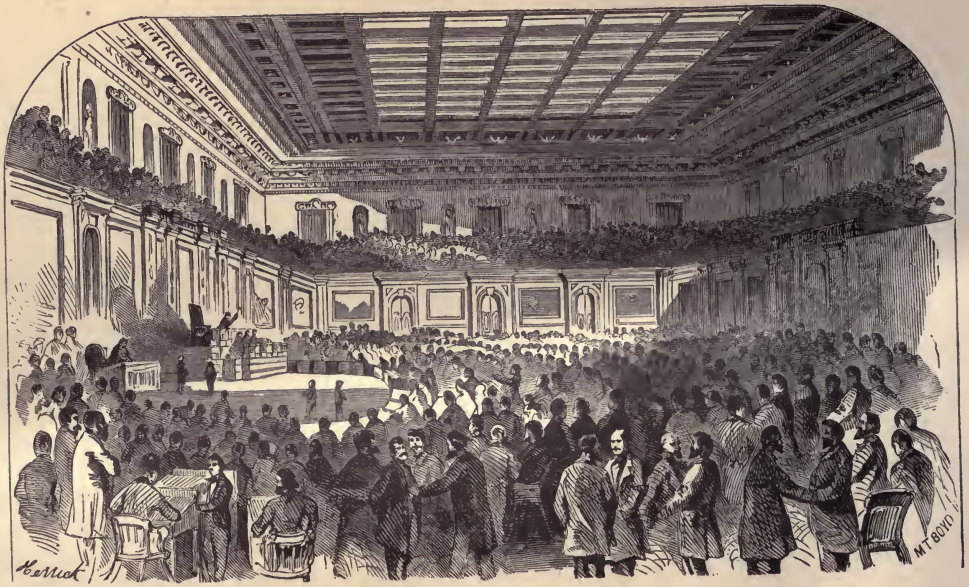
The difficulties and embarrassments, and the harassing anxieties and cares which Washington encountered in guiding the ship of state through this stormy sea were indescribably great. He was himself often nearly overwhelmed. But his wisdom and moderation, his calmness, his justice, his caution, his inexhaustible patience and perseverance, the weight of his personal character, and the almost unbounded influence which he exerted over the minds of his countrymen, through the love and veneration with which he was universally regarded, enabled him to come out triumphant in the end.

CHAPTER X.

WORKING OF THE SYSTEM.

SOON PUT TO THE TEST.

IMMEDIATELY after the organization of the new government, and before the machinery of the system had begun to acquire the momentum and steadiness necessary to enable any machinery successfully to meet and overcome the difficulties of its work, a series of remarkable events began to occur, relating not only to the internal condition of the country, but involving also, as was intimated in the last chapter, the relations of the American government to those of foreign nations. These difficulties had the effect of bringing the new institutions somewhat prematurely to the test. To relate the course of the events which followed, and to show in what manner the system worked under this trial, would take us beyond the limits assigned to this series, which is intended to close with the establishment of the federal constitution. This concluding chapter will, accordingly, contain some additional explana-



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN SESSION.

tions in respect to the true nature of the compound government which had been established, as it developed itself in operation, with a view of communicating to the reader a more clear conception of the essential principles and characteristics of the system.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNMENT.

The principle which forms the foundation of human government, according to the ideas of the Anglo-Saxon race, seems to be this:

Any region of the earth's surface, the parts of which are so situated in relation to each other and to other regions surrounding it as to make the interests of the people inhabiting it essentially common, constitutes naturally a country; and the people of the whole region, by the act of a majority fairly ascertained, have a natural right to establish and maintain institutions of government for the whole, the dissent of a minority notwithstanding—whether that minority is diffused throughout the whole territory or occupies exclusively some minor portion of it.

THIS PRINCIPLE ACKNOWLEDGED AND ACTED UPON BY THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

It is true that the British government is founded,

in theory—or, rather, in the verbal expression of the theory—on the sovereignty of the crown. But this is only a formality of language, retained out of respect for its antiquity. The controlling power both in determining the political institutions of the country and in administering the government is now, and has been for several centuries, the *will of the British people.* It is, indeed, customary still to speak of the king or the queen as the sovereign, and the people as subjects; and a species of formal and ceremonious homage is customarily rendered to the crown. But this is all entirely unreal. If a king attempts to govern the country in a manner contrary to the will of the people, they resist; and if he persists, they dethrone or behead him.

The sovereignty which nominally vests in the royal family in England at the present day is a matter of poetical sentiment or state parade alone. The real supremacy is in the national will.

DIFFERENT MODES OF ASCERTAINING THE NATIONAL WILL.

Thus the real foundation of government is in England and America the same, though there are great differences in the structures built upon it. One of the most important of these is the difference in the mode of ascertaining the national will in the

two countries. In England, to ascertain the preponderance of public sentiment the attempt is made to weigh the people In America we are content to count them.

THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED

The doctrine that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is to be interpreted in conformity with the fundamental principles stated above that is, by the consent of the governed—must be understood to mean the consent of a majority of all those included within the limits of a region, which, whether more or less extensive, is so situated in regard to its geographical or other conditions as that the interests of the inhabitants are essentially common. In some cases, as for example that of Switzerland or Denmark, the region may be small; in others, as in that of France, large. In either case, the right of the people to combine, and by means of a majority of voices, fairly obtained, to ordain and maintain a government over the whole, notwithstanding the dissent of any separate portion, is complete, within the limits of the region so situated.

In other words the geographical or other conditions which determine for any region of the earth's surface, a community of interests for those inhabit-

ing it, gives to a majority of the people so inhabiting, the right to give or withhold consent in the name of all, to any government established over them.

EXAMPLES IN POINT.

The truth of this doctrine, as a doctrine, is universally admitted and practically acted upon in England as well as in America. If, for example, the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight were to wish to establish a separate government, the answer to their claim would be that the British Islands form a group so connected together that the interests of the whole are involved in and dependent upon the condition of every part; and that the people of every part must therefore, whatever their individual preferences may be, submit to be merged in the general population of the whole; and after being allowed their fair share of influence with the rest, must consent to come under such a system of civil polity as a majority of the whole number shall decide upon.

The same is true in respect to Ireland. That island bears such a relation to the others of the group that a foreign or an independent government ruling over it would endanger the security and welfare of the whole. Ireland therefore must be content, so Englishmen maintain, to make common

cause with the other islands, and to yield submission to such a government as a majority of the whole population of the islands sees fit to maintain.

THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The general government of the United States in all the three forms which it successively assumed, had its origin in precisely this principle—not stated perhaps at the time very formally, as a matter of theory, but felt practically as a matter of fact, namely, that such were the geographical and physical features of the region occupied by these States, that the external interests so to speak, of the whole people, that is, the interests arising from their relations to the other nations of the world, were inseparably united; that no portion of this territory could be independent of the rest without endangering the rest, and that consequently it was right for the people of the whole region to unite and establish, so far as these external relations and other subjects of common interest were concerned, one common government, to include the whole within its jurisdiction.

THE GENERAL AND THE LOCAL INTERESTS REQUIRING A DIFFERENT PROVISION.

There was, however, one peculiarity in the condition of the American States, which had perhaps

never existed before in so marked a degree, in any political community; and that was that while in respect to their dealings with foreign nations and with the outer world at large, and to certain other functions of government more or less related to these, the interests of the whole region were common,—still, on account of the great extent of the country, the diversity of soil, climate, and productions in the different portions of it, and the varying circumstances under which the original settlements were made, the *local and internal* interests of each State, as well as the ideas of the people inhabiting them, were extremely diverse. Out of this state of things, which had perhaps never existed before in so great a degree in any political community,—that is, so great a unity of interest throughout the whole in respect to dealings with the world at large, conjoined with so great a diversity of ideas and interests in respect to social institutions and local legislation, in the different parts, arose the idea,—which is the great fundamental principle of the American system, of dividing the jurisdiction, and organizing over the whole one government, to hold a control entire, absolute, and supreme, over certain prescribed subjects of common interest, and over each part another government, with a control equally entire, absolute and supreme, over all the

private relations of life, including social institutions and industrial pursuits of every kind.

FUNDAMENTAL IDEA OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

It was as if the people of the whole country had assembled together as one vast community, and, after having solemnly arranged the system of the Federal Constitution, constituted the Congress, and elected Washington as the supreme executive, had addressed the new government thus:

"We, the people of the United States, acting together for this purpose, commit to your hands the exercise of supreme governmental power, in our name, over all that portion of the public interests that we hold in common; namely, all that relates to our dealings with foreign countries, whether those of friendly communication and commerce in time of peace, or of hostilities in time of war, and with the tribes of Indians remaining within our territory, and also all that directly concerns the intercourse of the several States with each other;—and these things only.

"We give you full power in respect to these subjects, to adopt, through Congress, such measures as you deem necessary, and through the president and the other executive officers associated with him,

to carry your measures into effect. To this end you are authorized to enter the territory of any State, whenever you may find it necessary to do so, in order to establish custom-houses, build forts, construct arsenals, armories, navy-yards, mints, and post-offices and post-roads,—and also to appoint all necessary officers, and employ all necessary labor, for the proper discharge of the duties assigned you.

"In order to supply yourselves with funds for these purposes, you are authorized to levy duties on imports of merchandise,—making them uniform throughout the country,—and to collect the duties so levied on the arrival of the merchandise in the various ports, in such a manner as you may deem expedient; and to assess other taxes, if necessary.

"No State government will interfere with you or molest you in any way while engaged in the performance of these duties, but all will leave your way unobstructed and free. You, on the other hand, must confine yourselves most strictly to the special work committed to you. All the internal affairs of government, everything that relates to the social and civil institutions of society, and to the intercourse between man and man in the ordinary relations of life—everything in fact except the specific branches of public business formally assigned to you is reserved by the States for their own regula-

tion and control. In all these things the power of the States is absolute and supreme. We enjoin it upon you most strongly, to confine your action scrupulously and strictly to your own department of duty, and not to encroach in any way, by direct or indirect means, on the jurisdiction which we reserve to ourselves in the capacity of separate populations of separate States, to exercise through State governments which we shall maintain in the several States for this purpose.

"To guard against the danger that you may thus encroach upon the proper jurisdiction of the States, or that some State may, inadvertently or otherwise, encroach upon yours, we have provided for the establishment of a solemn tribunal, to be constituted of judges who shall be men of venerable age, of ripe experience, of the highest attainments in civil and constitutional law, and of national reputation for uprightness, integrity, and knowledge of public affairs. In case you, or any State government shall pass any act, or adopt any measure which shall be deemed an encroachment on the jurisdiction of the other, the question shall be brought before this tribunal, which, after a full hearing of both sides, shall decide it; and their decision shall be conclusive and final. Whichever government, whether State or National, shall be found by this tribunal

to be wrong, it shall at once yield to the decision, and retire within the limits which the decision assigns to it."

Such, expressed in the form of instructions from the people of the United States to the new government, were the powers committed to this government, and it was the work of carrying out this system that Washington on his inauguration as President of the United States found before him.

QUESTION OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

During the jurisdiction of the Continental Congress and the Congress of the Confederation, the seat of government, if government it might be called, was sometimes in Philadelphia, sometimes in New York, and sometimes in other places, as the exigencies of the war and the approach of danger to this place or that might require. The necessary accommodations for the few and feeble functions which those bodies possessed could be found in almost any place. But now that a real national power had been organized, which would go on increasing in the magnitude of its operations for centuries, as the wealth and population increased, it was manifest that a suitable and permanent seat of government would be required, where edifices

for the accommodation of Congress, of the president, of the various departments of the government, and for the residences of foreign ministers, might be constructed, on a scale and in a style corresponding in some degree to the magnitude and extent which the business of the government might be expected in time to assume. After mature deliberation, and a full consideration of the claims of the principal existing towns to the honor of being made the seat of government, it was finally decided to found a new city for this purpose; and a site was selected by Washington himself on the banks of the Potomac, not many miles above his own estate at Mount Vernon.

THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

The place chosen was central in reference to the territory occupied by the States, and the situation was charming. By the unanimous desire of the people of the country the new capital was named Washington. The site on which it was to be built was at the confluence of two rivers, the Potomac and the Anacostia, the waters of which furnished access for vessels of great burden from the sea. It lay within the limits of the State of Maryland, but the jurisdiction over it was at once ceded to the General Government, and the city was immediately

laid out, on a very extensive scale, and the construction of the necessary buildings immediately commenced.

TRANSFER OF THE GOVERNMENT TO WASHINGTON.

So much time, however, was necessarily occupied by the deliberations and discussions, the legal formalities, the drawing and examination of plans, and the works of construction, that it was not until the year 1800 that the seat of government could be transferred to the new capitol. The functions of the government have since that time centered there, and are performed on a scale of magnitude and extent comporting with the dignity and character of the Union. The appearance of the house of representatives at the present day, when assembled for the transaction of business, in the exercise of absolute power over all the foreign affairs of the country, and substantially over all the internal affairs which are of common interest, presents a very different spectacle from that of the old Confederate Congress, consisting of thirty or forty members only, and they so dilatory in their duty that it was often impossible to obtain a quorum.*

In due time other national establishments were

* See engraving at the commencement of the chapter.

created in various parts of the country by the general government,—all, however, for purposes confined strictly to the departments of business with which that government had been entrusted,—namely, for the collection of duties on imports, for the accommodation of the system of courts taking cognizance of questions of national character, for the postal system, for the management of Indian affairs, and for the naval and military defence of the country. There were navy yards established at Pensacola, at Norfolk, at Washington, at Brooklyn, at Charlestown, and at other places. The forts and other strongholds on the seaboard and in the interior were transferred to the new government, and positions were selected for the construction of others. Armories and arsenals for the manufacture and storage of ordnance and arms were established at Harper's Ferry, at Springfield, and at other places; and military and naval academies for the training and instruction of officers for the national ervice were founded at West Point and Annapolis.

In a word, all the machinery for the regular and efficient performance of those functions of government which had been committed to the central organization was arranged and put in motion without any unnecessary delay.

In the meantime, the several State governments,

each within its own limits, went on in the exercise of its own reserved powers,—having supreme and exclusive control over all the internal and local interests of the communities comprised within their several territories, and discharging their duties without being trammeled by any connection with the general government, still less by any dependence upon it, or responsibility to it, of any kind.

The system thus inaugurated, which, though compound in its structure, is still exceedingly simple in its principles, when rightly understood, has now been in successful operation for three-quarters of a century. Under its beneficent action the country has advanced in wealth and population more rapidly than any nation of ancient or modern times; and has, moreover, been carried by it safely through two foreign wars, and has been enabled to triumph over the most formidable rebellion ever encountered by any civilized government within the period of history. We hope it is destined to endure, with such modifications as may be peacefully made in it, in accordance with its own provisions for change, till time on earth shall end.

THE END.

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